HEINZ ALBERT FISCHEL

THE RABBINIC CONCEPTION OF PROPHECY

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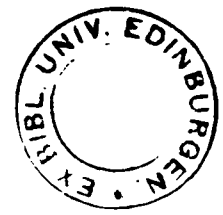

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Mishnah, Tosefta and Talmud Tractates

Ab. : Ab(h)oth

Ab. Zarah : Abhodah Zarah

Arakh. : Arakhin

BB : Baba Bathra

Bekh. : Bekhoroth

Ber. : Berakhoth

BK : Baba Kamma

BM : Baba Metsia

Eduy. : Eduyoth

Erub. : Erubhin

Git. : Gittin

Hag. : Hagigah

Hor. : Horayoth

Ket. : Kethuboth

Kidd. : Kiddushin

Maas. Sheni : Maaser Sheni

Makk. : Makkoth

Meg. : Megillah

Men. : Menahoth

MK or M. Kat. : Moed Katan

Naz. : Nazir

Ned. : Nedharim

Pes. : Pesahim

RH : Rosh Hashanah

Sanh. : Sanhedrin

Shab. : Shabbath

Sheb. : Shebhiith

Shek. : Shekalim

Tam. : Tamid

Taan. : Taanith

Yad. : Yadhayim

Yeb. : Yebhamoth

Zeb. : Zebhahim

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Abbreviations

Apoc. (Apc.) : Apocalypse

Asc. : Ascension

Ass. : Assumptio

Bar. : Baruch

I Macc. : First Book Of The Maccabees, II Macc., etc.

Ps. Sal. : Psalms of Solomon

Recog. : Recognitiones

En. : Enoch

Hom. : Homilies

Jub. : Jubilees

Sap. Sal. : Wisdom of Solomon

Sib. : The Sibylline Books

Sir. : Ecclesiasticus

Test. : Testament

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Philonic Tractates

De Decalogo : de. decal.

De Ebrietate

De Gigantibus : de gigan.

De Migratione Abrahami : de migr. Abr.

De Mundo Opificio : de opif. mundi

De Nobilitate

De Posteritate Caini

De Platatione Noae : de plant. Noae

De Praemiis et Poenis

De Somniis : de somn.

De Specialibus Legibus : de spec. leg.

De Virtutibus : de virt.

De Vita Mosis (Vita Mosis)

Legum Allegoriae : leg. alleg.

Quaestiones In Genesis : quaest. in. Gen.

Quis Rerum Divinarum Heres : quis rer. div. her.

Quod Deterius Potiori Insidiatur

Quod Omnis Probus Liber Sit: Quod omn. prob.

Josephus

Ant. : Antiquities Bell. : Bellum Judaicum

c. Ap. : Contra Apionem

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Hieronymi Quaestiones Hebraicae In Libro Geneseos Et Recog., ed. P. de Lagarde, Leipzig 1868

PS. JEROME.
Quaestiones Hebraicae In II Regum Et In II Paral., ed. Migne, Patr. Latina XXIII, Paris Quaest. in...

JUSTIN,
Opera Omnia, ed. J.P. Migne, Patr. Graeca VI, Paris Dialogus.... : Dial.

ORIGEN,
Opera Omnia, ed. H.E. Lomnatzsch, I-XXV, Berlin 1831-48 Contra Celsum : c.C.

TERTULLIANUS,
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I-II, Paris 1844

Other Abbreviations

de princ. : de principiis

demonstr. ev. : demonstratio Evangelica

AdPAdW: Abhandlungen der Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften

BWANT: Beitraege zur Wissenschaft des Alten und Neuen Testaments

BZAW: Beihefte zur Zeitschrift fuer die Alttestamentliche Wissenschaft

FRLANT; Forschungen zur Religion und Literatur des Alten und Neuen Testaments

HUCA: Hebrew Union College Annual, Cincinnati, Ohio

JE: Jewish Encyclopedia

JQR: Jewish Quarterly Review

MGWJ: Monatsschrift fuer die Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judentums

REJ: Révue des Etudes Juives

WZfKdM: Wiener Zeitschrift fuer die Kunde des Morgenlandes

ZAW: Zeitschrift fuer die Alttestamentliche Wissenschaft

anon.: anonymous; without mention of the author

ibid.: ibidem

Introd: Introductory chapter

loc. cit.: loco citato

Pr. : Prooemion, proem

s.v. : sub verbâ

INTRODUCTION

The subject of prophecy is comparatively prominent in the Rabbinic sources. Beside a host of isolated statements we find numerous passages of considerable length dealing exclusively with prophecy, such as Seder Olam 20-21; Megillah 14aff; Baba Bathra 12aff; Leviticus Rabba 1.1ff; the talmudic material based on Mishna Sanhedrin 11.1, 11.5, and Sotah 9. The predominant role of revelation and, consequently, the outstanding significance which the Pentateuch and, to a lesser degree, the biblical canon had acquired, are reflected in these Rabbinical discussions on the subject of prophecy.

Many other causes added to the importance which the subject of historical prophecy had gained in Rabbinic sources. The succession of great empires or their struggle with each other rendered the content of prophecy permanently interesting and attractive. The trials and tribulations of the internal Jewish conflicts, the loss of sovereignty and, later, the destruction of the Temple, increased the belief in the prophetic forecastøs of doom and simultaneously enhanced the belief in the prophetic promise of consolation. According to this belief Israel's history and fate were anticipated by the divine will and were not the result of blind catastrophes. The national pride, infinitely strengthened after the success of the

Maccabaean renaissance, found in the prophets a gallery of representative religious and national heroes, great both in martyrdom and active heroism. The ascent of the powerful and wide-spread messianic movements was built on the prophetic message. Furthermore, the prophets, identified with the sages, were believed to have introduced the precious and desirable gift of wisdom into the world, wisdom being a widely discussed subject in the Hellenistic period. The loss of "classical", of authoritative and law-creating prophecy was, as a whole, keenly felt.

The Rabbinic ideas on prophecy, however, cannot be understood merely as a discussion and theological justification of <u>historical</u> prophecy in the light of the Law-centered piety and theology of the Rabbis, as it has been asserted by some authors working in the Rabbinical field. Nor can the Rabbinic conception of prophecy be interpreted as shaped only by the struggle against contemporary prophetic movements like the apocalyptic or gnostic ones. Prophecy, or, rather, pneumatic religious life was not really extinct in the Hellenistic and early Rabbinic period of Judaism, from Alexander the Great to Julianus. The treatment of our subject in our sources reveals by its liveliness and

thoroughness the knowledge of pneumatic experiences. Furthermore, we know of the importance of prophecy in the period before the destruction of the Temple. There were numerous prophets, recognized by popular sentiment; there was a widely diffused popular curiosity concerning the mystery of prophetic foresight and insight; there was prophecy with the Essenes, with the highpriests in the sanctuary of Jerusalem, in the political fanaticism of the Zealots, with early Christianity, and with the wandering priests and miracle workers of various Hellenistic religions and cults. The great authoritative knowledge of the Tannaitic teachers of the people, wisdom, gnosis, and initiation into the mysteries of various lores were considered revelation or prophecy.

The interest in the phenomenon of prophecy was very wide-spread in the ancient world in our period and permeated to different degrees all the religions, Rabbinism included. The connection and intercourse of Palestine with the surrounding countries, even with Parthia, Asia Minor, Greece, and Rome were particularly intense throughout the centuries of our period. However, it will not be the task of this essay to trace the source of parallels and similarities in the Rabbinic and Hellenistic religions. This task would require a special investigation, transcending the limits of this presentation.

Moreover, the scarcity of clear proofs for mutual interdependence of sources and a similar development in all the religions of the ancient world arriving at a similar stage in our period renders doubtful the assertion of foreign influences or patterns in all cases of parallelisms. This essay, therefore, has been limited merely to pointing out some parallels to Rabbinic ideas in the Hellenistic and Persian religions.

As the relation of Rabbinic sources in the stricter sense of the word to certain extra-Rabbinic Jewish sources is very close and any discrimination unjustifiable, this essay uses also the material of the apocalyptic and pseudepigraphic literature, both Jewish and Christian, the New Testament, and those early Christian writings which are close to the Jewish sphere, and part of the works of Philo and Josephus. The main emphasis, however, has been on the presentation of the talmudic and midrashic material.

Rabbinic religion is not a structure of thought which can be adequately grasped from only one viewpoint. To be sure, the piety centering around the Law is predominant and almost, at first sight, without a rival. But if Philo allegorized the Law and gave it mystical values, and if Paul denied its validity, Rabbinic religion can be characterized by the attempt to include

the whole universe in the Law, thus preserving a great variety of institutions, trends of thought, and shades of piety under the cover of the Law. Rabbinic Judaism is thus not only legalism, but also messianism, nationalism, pietism, rationalism, mysticism, and the more primitive popular religion. In order to do justice to a conception as complex as the Rabbinic idea of prophecy it is necessary to deal with these different aspects of Rabbinic religion separately and trace their share and influence in the whole of the Rabbinic conception. This essay, therefore, deals with five of the major aspects of religion in late Judaism; more could be easily discerned, but almost the entire material was exhausted by the five chapters of this investigation.

In the material of some of these chapters remainders of more ancient conceptions have been discovered. They were, however, left under the headings of the chapters concerned, being not numerous enough and too different from each other to form a basic constituant of the Rabbinic conception of prophecy. They are, furthermore, more conspicuous when contrasted with later thought which tries to bring them under control. In this way the essay tries to avoid the fundamental mistake, made by so many workers in this field, viz., to harmonize contradictory statements; to leave out

the non-conformist material which might destroy the oversimplification or dogmatization of their presentation; and to make the whole of the material appear to have grown on one level.

Despite the large amount of material at our command we have tried to keep this essay short and concise. The description of the historical background of the religious ideas dealt with had, therefore, to be omitted and is only occasionally alluded to. For the same reason a minimum of Hebrew and Greek proof-material is given; and the quotations have been kept very short. The names of the authors of Rabbinic passages or the intricate problem of their authorship have not been fully stated in numerous instances, since the names given by Midrash and Talmud frequently do not correspond to the authors of the statements themselves, but to the authors of a later re-formulation or to the discoverers of new proof-material taken from the Scriptures. The parallels to a passage in talmudic literature are only rarely stated in full; and the discussions of variant readings have been reduced to a minimum.

The main bulk of the material has been drawn directly from the original texts, and part of it is presented here for the first time. The subject has

never found an exhaustive or appropriate treatment as yet. The well-known authorities on Rabbinic religion, such as Moore and Strack-Billerbeck, deal with only part of the material owing to the nature of their task. Bass is not acquainted with the Hellenistic sources; his presentation of the Rabbinic sources is not complete and does not recognize their true nature. Glatzer's small and sound essay on this subject is limited to some of the thoughts in Rabbinic texts in the strictest sense. Volz's Geist, a valuable work, covers the beginning of the period and deals only with a few texts, whereas Heinemann's oversimplified outline centres only around the conception of the "Holy Spirit".

As the present work is one of presentation and, occasionally, interpretation, it is based primarily on a study of the relevant material in the literature concerned, and citations from modern authors have been kept to a minimum.

CH. I

RABBINIC LEGALISM AND ITS CONCEPTION OF PROPHECY

The great and exclusive role played by the Law in Rabbinic thinking is reflected in the utterances of the Rabbis on the relationship between the Law and prophecy.

Various theories were used to harmonize the world of the Law with the world of the prophetic message. These theories identified the prophet with a founder of religious institutions, with a Halakhist, or with a champion of God's Law. All these theories have been used by the Rabbis who thus incorporated the world of the prophet into the all-embracing sphere of the Law. Just as certain prophets became prototypes of Jesus and as "all the heroes of Jewish history were gradually transformed into pre-incarnation Christians" by Christian thinking, so Rabbinic thought transformed them into pre-Pharisaic Rabbis. Let us observe in detail some phases of this attempt at a harmonization of originally incongruous phenomena.

I

There is vast material of undoubtedly ancient character which ascribes to the prophet the

introduction of many of the fundamental institutions of Judaism. This material seems to reflect historical phenomena, particularly the character of late prophetic activity in the Babylonian exile and the early period of the Second Temple (1). The last stage of prophecy was closely connected with the reestablishment of the new commonwealth and the creation of its legislation and institutions, if we bear in mind Jeremiah's letters, Ezekiel's outline of future laws, the activities of Haggai, Zechariah and Malachi, and, above all, Zerubbabel, Ezra and Nehemiah, who were considered prophets. Furthermore, the idea of the prophetic institution found a basis in figures of the biblical account, who combined practical politics and legislation with prophetic creativeness, such as Moses, Joshua, Samuel, David, Solomon, and Isaiah.

We refer here to some examples of this teaching, which goes as far back as the biblical "Book of The Chronicles", in which institutions of the cult are referred to as foundations of the prophets (2).

The prophets were believed to have introduced the laws concerning mixed marriages, admission of certain types of proselytes into the community, and prohibitions of marriage between certain degrees

of relatives. The prophets in general (3), also Samuel and "his school", Solomon, and Haggai are mentioned as the lawgivers in these instances (4). Other concerns of prophetic legislation were the architecture and situation of the First and Second Temples and their courts and walls, regulations regarding the priests, especially their division into 24 representative groups, and details concerning different types of offerings. The first prophets, Moses, Samuel, Gad, and David in particular, Ezekiel, and the prophets of the exile and return are mentioned in this connection (5). Other prophetic legislation is concerned with agricultural life, the sabbathical year and the tithes (6). The first prophets, and Haggai, Zechariah and Malachi are considered to have been active in this field. Prophets were believed to have introduced lasting innovations in criminal law (7), in the laws concerning cultic purity (8), ritual slaughtering (9) and the calendar (10). Important regulations connected with the allotment of the Holy Land were issued by Joshua (11), and Ezra's edicts in this field were similarly far-reaching and fundamental (12). Furthermore, the introduction of numerous rites and customs pertaining to the re-

ligious festivals was ascribed to the prophets (13). According to this idea all the main prayers are institutions of the prophets, viz., of the patriarchs; Moses, Joshua, David, Solomon, the "first prophets" in general; Jeremiah, Daniel, and the men of the Great Assembly (14). The prophets were believed to have introduced the reading of the "Torah" and the "Book of Esther" in the religious services of the Synagogue as well as certain rules about the script employed in these scrolls (15). Moses; Ezra; the "seers"; or all the exilic and post-exilic prophets have been made responsible for these institutions. In many cases the laws or innovations ascribed to the prophets, especially those concerning the prayers and the reading of the scroll, are of a more recent date.

The majority of the sources concerned is of earlier Tannaitic date. The prophet is the creator of lasting institutions, a figure of high authority. His institutions are his own creations, not based on Moses' legislation. The prophet is more than a Halakhist, he is a creator and founder. This conception of the prophets' creative authority is in line with ideas expressed in the "Book of The Chronicles" (16) and some passages in the "First Book of the Maccabees", which give expression to the

expectation of a prophet who is supposed to exert this authority (17). Elijah became the messianic authority for the reestablishment of the purity of the Israelite families and for the final decision of unsolved halakhic controversies, the solution of which meant the creation of new legal precedents (18). Authority has been given to the prophet since the Deuteronomic legislation (19). Tannaitic thinkers still concede to the prophet the authority to change laws of the "Torah" within certain limits, to introduce new laws, or cancel old ones (20); and enjoin on the people absolute obedience to the prophets (21).

The terminology used for these prophetic edicts is in fact that which designates authoritative enactments, not based on the injunctions of the "Torah", viz., תִּקֵּן, הִתְקִין, and its derivatives (21a). "Tossephta Taanith" 2.1 and other passages simply speak of עשה. Less strong is the expression התנו עמהן (22). "Tossephta Erubhin" 11.22 speaks of התי'ר and "Yerushalmi Shabbath" 33b of מ'סוד הנביאים. The edict of the prophet is called מצוה(23) or ἐντολή(24).

But the later Halakhah, i.e. the Amoraic discussions of our material, entirely cancelled this idea of the authoritative creations of the prophets

largely because of its conception of one great all-comprising revelation, granted to Moses on Mt. Sinai. They declared almost all of these creations to be ancient, either indicated in the "Torah" (25), or הלכה למשה מסיני, i.e. oral law, dating back to the Sinaitic revelation, or מנהג, ancient custom which had been forgotten and was re-introduced or revived by the prophets (26). The authority of the prophet, therefore, becomes very limited. In the opinion of later law (27) the prophets were not permitted to prophesy without the permission of the Sanhedrin. In the decrees of "85 elders and among them 30 prophets" (28) and in similar formulations the old authority of the prophets still resounds, mitigated by the idea of their membership in the Sanhedrin. In the Amoraic opinions Elijah acted on God's command when sacrificing on the height, whereas the Tannaitic opinion grants to the prophet the authority to take this measure on his own responsibility (29). The most far-reaching result of this trend of thought is to prohibit the prophet completely from interfering with the Law or from bringing about any legal changes whatever (30).

Whatever the prophet had to say in the moral and theological field was also believed to be connected

with the revelation on Mt. Sinai and anticipated or pre-created there. According to R. Isaac (31) and R. Chelbo (32) prophecy was created on Mt. Sinai and, therefore, pre-existent. In one opinion, the souls of the prophets were present at the revelation (33). According to R. Shimon ben Lakish (34) and R. Joshua ben Levi (35), the message of all the prophets was revealed to Moses, from whom all the other prophets took their prophecies (36). Another tradition, which also bears R. Shimon ben Lakish's name (37), mentions the echo of the divine voice heard on Mt. Sinai, from which all the subsequent prophets received their prophecy. The Jew Tryphon was told that God commanded Israel through all the prophets to do that which he had commanded through Moses (38). The idea that the prophet cannot pronounce any new idea after the one great universal revelation has received a theoretical basis in these accounts.

II

Further light is thrown on the Rabbis' attitude towards prophecy and its relation to the Law by another trend of thought which simply declares the sage or Rabbi as superior to the prophet, the Law as

superior to prophecy, and Moses, although a prophet himself, as superior to all the other prophets. A distinct difference in authority, importance, and rank is ascribed to these two worlds of revelation.

Amemar's slogan חכם עדיף מנביא, "the sage is more than the prophet", is characteristic for this trend of valuation. "The little thing, prophecy, is added to the great thing, wisdom" (39). In the opinion of Tanhum bar Aha the words of the scribes, of Ezra and his successors, are more stringent than the words of the prophets or even of the "Torah". The words of the former need no signs and miracles as proofs; the sage is God's direct and fully authorized agent (40). The sages were considered to have received prophecy, - authority is probably meant, - after it had been taken away from the prophets (41). In another opinion the sages had always possessed prophecy and retained it when the prophets lost it (42). Halakhic statements without a plausible or legal basis are deridingly called "words of prophecy" (43). A sage ranks before a king, a king before a high priest, before whom a prophet, again, has to "bow hand and feet" (44).

It is a well-known fact that at least since

the Pharisaic victory the "Pentateuch" had acquired an incomparably higher authority than the prophetic literature. New laws could be derived from or based on the "Torah" alone, not on the prophetic books, although there are a few exceptions from this rule (45). It was against the principles of "Halakhah" to form analogies from prophetic institutions and utterances for application to or interpretation of institutions of the "Torah" (46). The same restriction was valid for analogies from prophetic institutions applied to those of the scribes (46a). In the religious service the role of the "Torah" was most prominent, the"Prophets"only supplementing the reading of the "Pentateuch" (47). Whereas the "Prophets" and the "Hagiographa" will become obsolete in the world to come (48), having been uttered on account of Israel's sin (49), the "Torah" will never be discarded.

Another feature of this valuation which grants unsurpassable significance to the Sinaitic revelation with its oral and written Law, is the high rank occupied by Moses. This evaluation is part of the general trend in post-Deuteronomic Judaism to assign to Moses the central role in Judaism, which thus becomes increasingly "Mosaism". The inner logic

and dynamics of Rabbinic Judaism as well as the importance of similarly central figures in Oriental and Hellenistic religions, human or superhuman founders like Zoroasther, Mithras, Hermes, Jesus, Mani, etc., must have increased this tendency.

Moses is thus promoted to the rank of the greatest prophet (50) and law-giver for the whole world (51). He is the greatest redeemer, intermediary and intercedant; the greatest, most perfect teacher, scholar and jurist; the most pious and righteous mortal; the greatest man and spirit in Palestinian, Alexandrinian, and Babylonian Jewish thinking alike, with Halakhists, Haggadists, philosophers, apocalyptists and gnostics. He is the "father of the prophets" (52), the "father of the messengers", and the "father of the supplicants" (53); or according to a frequently used formula "the wisest of the wise (54), the greatest of the great, and father of the prophets" (55); or the greatest of all the prophets (56) and their teacher (57). He is the most faithful and perfect shepherd (59).

The Midrash frequently emphasizes his intimate knowledge of God, the intensity of his prophetic power, and his consequent closeness to the divine sphere, unattainable by any of the other

prophets. Numerous similes describe the gulf between the prophecy of Moses and that of all the other prophets (58).

Only in a few isolated Midrashim some other prophets share Moses' greatness, e.g., Isaiah (60), Isaiah and Samuel (61), Samuel (62), and Aaron (63). According to one source Balaam is superior to Moses in three respects (64), Elijah his equal in many (65), and the most eminent prophet in the "Chronicon Paschale" and other texts (66). Some texts, however, stress the greatness of these prophets for homiletical reasons mainly, and are, as a whole, homiletical exaggerations, sometimes emphasizing only the length of the different prophetic books. It is not impossible, however, (but has to remain mere guesswork) that Aaron and Moses, as priests, have been declared great prophets by all those, who wanted to strengthen the power of the priesthood in an earlier period. Texts which proclaim Adam, Enoch, or Elijah as the greatest prophets are of gnostic or apocalyptic character and frequently believe that these prophets are only pre- or re-incarnations of Moses (67).

A great amount of material deprecates the success, human perfection, strength and faith, and the

power of insight of all the prophets, Moses included. Glatzer, who adduces some of this material (68), holds that this deprecation of the prophet is the expression of the struggle of the Rabbis against the "prophetic", i.e., apocalyptic movement. In our opinion this view can be held only with regard to those Midrashim (69) which assert that the prophets frequently lost their spirit of inspiration and were unable to gaze upon God and the mysteries of the future world (70). But many of these passages seem to emphasize the importance of the Law, compared with which every other revelation is secondary, auxiliary, or incomplete. A few of the sources which emphasize the sin, failure, and weakness of the prophets, however, may counter the Hellenistic tendency of hero-worship and hero-apotheosis, palpable in all the surrounding literatures and religions. Furthermore, Christian theology, Christology mainly, used ideas and quotations from the prophetic books, but rarely from the "Pentateuch". The prophets were the fore-runners and evangelists of Christ. The Rabbinic sources try to show how often the prophets erred and failed (71). A characteristic selection from this material follows.

Jacob's loss of the spirit of inspiration occurred after Joseph had been sold by his brothers

(72). "Midrash Ps." on 40.3, # 2, relates David's temporary loss of the Holy Spirit. The Sons of Korah were unable to understand their vision (73). Limitations of prophetic insight are frequently mentioned (74). Jochanan ben Zakkai went as far as to deny that the prophets possessed the power to see details of the world to come (75). At the Red Sea the Israelites saw more of God than the prophets ever did (76). Whereas the "Torah" is altogether clear, the prophetic books are partly obscure (77).

Beside the transgressions mentioned in the biblical narrative (78) the sins of the prophets consisted in haughtiness, presumption, or rage (79). When accusing Israel Isaiah overstepped the line and had to be punished (80). Hosea tried to estrange God from Israel (81). The sins of the false prophets are frequently assigned to the prophets as a whole. In these cases the false prophets seem to be thought of as true prophets, who went astray against their better knowledge (82). Some sources prohibit three types of transgression, committed by genuine biblical prophets (83). Balaam was a true prophet, but later became a magician (84).

The sin of the prophets does not consist in revealing the divine mysteries to man against the

will of the godhead, as it is the case in Hellenistic sources (85). The Midrash which refers to the inspired composition of the "Targum" on the prophetic books, however, introduces an earthquake and an angry Heavenly Voice, proclaiming: "Who is it who reveals my secrets to the children of men" (86). In most Rabbinic sources, however, the sin of the prophets is transgression of ethical or halakhic rules, i.e., of the will of God, or the abuse of Israel's sacred character, both features closely bound up with main trends of Rabbinic piety. The "Gospel of the Nazarenes" (87) and Jerome (88) also refer to the sin of the prophets.

There are more Rabbinic statements which deprecate the rank of prophecy. The existence of the prophets was necessary only on account of Israel's sin (89) and considered to be a punishment for Israel's unworthiness (90). Furthermore, prophecy is a provisional substitute in this world for the personal teaching of God in the future world (91). Announcements by angels are superior to those of prophets (92). Snakes, frogs and flies could have been able, as in the case of the Ten Plagues, to act as God's messengers, if the prophets had refused to do so (93). Paul's comparative devaluation of prophecy in "I Cor." 13.8-12, the idea of its imperfection, incompleteness,

and limited duration, may belong to his Rabbinic heritage.

Another line of thought which requires mention in this connection (95) is the humble or even dishonourable origin of many of the prophets, viz., from proselytes, prostitutes or rebels. This tradition goes back to Tannaitic times. It is questionable, however, whether this idea was ever pronounced in order to deprecate prophecy. In the form preserved in the Midrash this idea seems to be more or less an expression of Rabbinic pietism; regardless of their ancestry or their past, whether pagan or prostitute (96), the pious will be rewarded and can even achieve the stage of prophetic perfection. This thought may have played an important role in Pharisaic missionary propaganda.

III

There is another conception of prophecy in Rabbinic sources, which effaces the contrast between Halakhist and prophet. This is the attempt to declare the prophet a talmudist, a teacher of the Law, a pupil in the talmudic manner, attending or heading a talmudic academy, and forming an important chain in the growth

and preservation of the Law. This attempted harmonization is, of course, less a conscious undertaking than an expression of the mentality of the Rabbis, who could not imagine that any important figure of the past had not practised or studied the Law.

Many of the prophets are supposed to have run talmudic academies, as did Shem (97), Eber, the patriarchs, Moses and Aaron (98), Isaiah (99) and Huldah (100). The relation of the older prophet to the younger is that of the rabbi to his pupil; the prophets and the biblical בני הנביאים are תלמידי חכמים (101). Like the talmudists, prophets hand down traditions in the name of their teachers (102), make halakhic decisions (103), and discuss "Halakhah" (104). We find occasionally the mention of chains of prophets (105) who preserved and handed down halakhic traditions. These chains resemble the halakhic "Hadith" of the talmudists, which has been their pattern rather than the Hellenistic usage to draw up lists of succession of pupils of the great philosophers like Platon, Pythagoras, etc. (106). The prophets, as a group, were believed to form a link in the chain of halakhic tradition. In most beliefs they have been inserted between Moses, Joshua, and the elders on the one hand, and the Men of

the Great Assembly or the "Couples", the first great teachers of the Law, on the other (107). Single prophets and the prophets as a group are connected with special traditions, as, e.g., the writing of the "crowns", (traditional ornaments in the Torah manuscripts) (108), and handed down the book on the architecture of the Temple (109). Gnostics and apocalyptists copied these halakhic chains of tradition for their own "Hadith" (110). Early and later Christianity (identifying its apostles as prophets) and also Mohammedan tradition made their prophets a link in the transmission of "oral Law". Moore (111) points out that the "Apostolic Constitutions" and the "Hadith" are parallels in the similar structure of all the "book-religions", which possess only one highest revelation.

IV

In spite of all the deprecation or even dissolution of prophecy into the sphere of the Law, the Rabbis were well aware of the high value of the prophetic message and conscious of the mercy of God, who communicated with his people through the prophets and revealed his will to them. This is evident through the canonization of the prophetic books, their use in

the reading from the Scriptures, and in the haggadic sermons of the Synagogue. There are, moreover, numerous Midrashim testifying to this fact. We must keep in mind, however, that many or most of the following panegyrics include Moses' prophecy, i.e., the Law, just as Philo's discussions of prophecy always include Moses' prophecy. They are, in a way, another expression of Rabbinic pan-legalism.

Prophecy is called יקר, "precious" (112), and גדולת, "greatness" (113). It is one of the 10 קנינים (114) and amongst the "excellent gifts" (115). Israel's elevation dates from the beginning of prophecy (116). "Cant." 1.7, (117), 4.10, נתה יפה (118), and "Ps." 45.1 (119) were understood to speak of prophecy. The prophets belong to the great men of Israel (120). Stereotyped phrases, enumerating Israel's representatives or historic figures, regularly mention the prophets beside the priests, princes, kings, and sages (121), or beside elders and "great men" (122). The series "great men, prophets, shepherds" occurs in "Yerushalmi Sanhedrin" 36b, "fathers, righteous, prophets, ministering angels" in Midrash "Cant.Zuta" 1.1, and "princes, kings, heroes, conquerors, distributors of land, prophets, and judges" in "Genesis Rabba" 70.14. A similar list, adapted to Hellenistic taste,

can be found in Scott's "Hermetica", "Kore Kosmou", pp. 480-481.

The Rabbinic appreciation of prophecy results from different motives. The word of God and the messenger of God were respected like God himself. It is the element of truth in God's word, which commands faith and endows authority. More conspicuous, however, are two other trends of thought in the Rabbinic conception of prophecy which are characteristic for Rabbinic religion. There is, in the first place, the idea that it was the mission of the prophets to lead the people to the life in the Law, and it was, secondly, the Rabbinic "nationalism", the significance of the idea of the Chosen People, of the nation who received and practised the Law, which had a bearing on the valuation of prophecy. The prophet, apart from leading and ~~administrating~~ the people, is the great "parakletos" of the people, or in Paul's words, which seem to bear a Rabbinical tinge: "He that prophesieth speaketh unto men edification and exhortation and consolation" (123).

Let us first consider the idea that the efforts of the prophets are to lead the people back to the Law. A frequently repeated Midrash which

claims R. Simlai as its author (124) shows that the prophets only reformulated the "Torah" and reduced or condensed the 613 precepts of the "Torah" to a few fundamental principles. The words of all the prophets have the same meaning. This is indicated in the similarity of their style, e.g., in that of Moses and Isaiah (125). The prophets deepen and strengthen the hold of the Law on the people (126). The idea that the prophet reestablishes the covenant with God and exhorts the people not to leave the divine "Torah", is as old as the biblical account, as, e.g., in "Amos" 2.4, "Hos." 8.1, 8.12, "Jer." 6.19 and 9.11. Later biblical texts refer to the struggle of the prophet for the Law in the stricter sense of the term, e.g., "Ez." 22.16, "Jer." 26.4-5, 44.10, 23, "2 Chron." 24.14ff., 36.15ff., etc.

The activity of the prophet is circumscribed by the term הוכ'ח (127). His words are תוכחות (דבר') (128), exhortation, admonition and warnings. In extreme cases he pronounces such heavy verdicts that they are tantamount to evidence against Israel (129), factual destruction (130), curses (131), doom (132) and (very commonly) punishment, פורענות (133). Many of their prophecies have a severe character and language (134). There are different versions of a

lengthy Tannaitic discussion, continued in the Amoraic age, ~~which~~ ~~tries~~ to find the expression denoting the sternest and most severe message. These accounts name חזון-prophecies, משׂא-prophecies and דבר-prophecies among the most severe (135). The great aim of prophetic activity is repentance, תשובה(136), the "return" of the nation to their "father that is in Heaven". The prophets thus attempt to bestow merits and rewards on Israel (137).

The great importance of the Law is reflected in the great importance of the people of the Law. We will deal here with a few examples of this Israel-centered theology, which colours Jewish religion in this period. As to the conception of prophecy this theology finds expression in the idea of another aspect of the prophetic task, viz., to proclaim the message of consolation to the sorely tried people (138) and to pronounce the divine promises to them (139). The message of a single prophet or of the prophets as a whole is, in the opinion of the Midrash, divided between admonition and consolation (140): Jeremiah hurt, Isaiah healed (141), i.e., harsh words against Israel by one prophet are frequently cancelled by another (142). Glatzer believes that this idea is directed against the Christian stress on Israel's condemnation

by the prophets. In this particular case, however, the Rabbinic idea seems to be the result of a thorough investigation into the text(which reveals such indiscrepancies)and the need for a sermon of consolation at all times. Amoraic tradition tried hard to reinterpret the prophetic message of Jeremiah, the foremost prophet of catastrophe, in order to show that even this severe prophet concluded his words with a message of consolation (143). Isaiah was considered the prophet of consolation κατ' ἐξοχήν on account of the chapters "Is." 40-66 (144). He disliked to declare God's creatures culprits (145). No "other prophet rejoiced more" in Israel than he (146). The prophets loved Israel and only hesitatingly accepted their calling, as they disliked to condemn Israel. This is the Rabbinic interpretation of Moses', Jonah's and Jeremiah's initial refusal to start on their mission. The prophet is Israel's "παράκλητος" (147). The content of his message is frequently called "all good (things), blessings and consolations" (כל הטובות, ברכות והנחמות) (148). The technical term for "consolation" is נחומים, תנחומין, נחמות and נחמתא, and also ישועה (פורקנא) (150).

The message of consolation naturally includes the announcement of the great salvation in the

the days of the Messiah or "the world to come". The idea of consolation in the Midrash has in almost all of the passages concerned a more or less pronounced eschatological colouring (151). A great part of the contents of prophecy is thus messianic and eschatological. God's word contains קץ , the message of the "end". A large number of passages was believed to speak of the messianic events, as Brierre-Narbonne's collection shows. All the prophets were believed to have seen certain aspects of the world to come (152), this tendency of Rabbinic thought being strengthened and increased by the beliefs of the apocalyptists and gnostics. Even Eldad and Medad supposedly prophesied on eschatological events (153). Elijah and Elisha conversed on the consolation of Jerusalem before the former's ascent to Heaven (154). The prophecy of a better age was current also in the Hellenistic world (155). Rabbinic thought, however, is continuing the tradition of the Scriptures, and apocalyptists and gnostics seem to be closer to Persian than to Hellenistic lore (156).

The prophets are merciful even towards the heathen and idolaters (157); but the preaching against the heathen nations is also a very important part of their mission (158) and helps Israel to be justified

before God. The prophets love Israel so much that they dare to challenge God's justice (159), and, sometimes, assail God with certain demands (160). They deeply mourn Israel's fate, and their prophetic songs turn to elegies. Jeremiah is the prototype of the mourning prophet (161). The personal tragedy of the prophet who wanted to honour his people and had to accuse it, is clearly seen (162). "The prophet laments" has become a common term, adducing prophetic utterances of elegaic content in the Midrash (162a).

The prophets are not ashamed to ask the requirements of Israel from their father in Heaven, just as women are unashamed to ask their husbands for household necessities (163). For this reason one of the most prominent aspects of prophetic mission is intercession for Israel with God. Intercession is usually made for Israel's guilt. The prophets defend Israel or ask for mercy. This side of their prophetic task, part of Rabbinic theology, but also closely bound up with popular religion, will be dealt with in a later chapter.

The task of the prophets is thus twofold and seemingly contradictory; it is well expressed by the words of Jeremiah (1.10): ... "to pluck up and to

break down and to destroy and to overthrow, to build and to plant". This ostensible contradiction, however, sometimes caused people to disbelieve the prophets (164). It is for this reason that the prophetic texts need an explanation (165). According to "Exodus Rabba" 15 God is in the words of the prophets accuser and defender in one person.

V

Beside these great lines, which conform closely to the Rabbinic focal points of thought, the Law and Israel, we have a number of minor conceptions, not as closely and sometimes scarcely in contact with these main poles of Rabbinic religion.

Still very central is the Rabbinic worship of God. The prophets glorify and magnify God (166). They proclaim God's praise (167) and know his power and exaltedness (168). It was Moses' privilege to call God "perfect", etc. (169) and in all the prophets' power to apply anthropomorphisms and similes to describe God's greatness (170).

Moderately frequent is the "messenger"-idea. The prophet is God's messenger, שלוח or שליח

(170a). In "Sifra" on "Leviticus" 13.8 this relation is based explicitly on worthiness, confidence or faith, and not understood as a legal relationship as in the frequent halakhic use of the term. The fact that God sends the prophets out on their errand is mentioned quite frequently (171); in fact, the use of the verb "to send" in the Bible indicates for the Midrash the employment of a prophet (172). The "messengership" (שלוחות) of a prophet is mentioned in "Genesis Rabba" 10.1 and "Tanhuma Shemoth" 18. This messenger-idea continues biblical patterns (173). Another feature of the messenger-prophet is his power to work miracles like Moses, Elijah, Elisha and Ezekiel (174). The prophet is not considered to execute an errand mechanically. The messenger-idea frequently designates the entire prophetic activity and the personal effort of the prophet to lead Israel to repentance. That this messenger-idea is not mechanical or merely juridic, as G. Kittel in a rather sweeping statement asserts (175), is demonstrated by the belief in the personal responsibility of the prophets for their statements, by the idea of their martyrdom incurred in prosecution of their aim and, - in the earlier sources -, by the scope of their authority. Jeremiah, e.g., might have withheld the truth, but did not do

so (176). The prophet devotes his whole life and thought to his missionary task, and he shares part of the authority, power and splendour of his sender, although he cannot be called a full-fledged plenipotentiary of God. The word כח in the sense of "power" or "privilege" is sometimes used to denote the freedom granted to the prophet to speak of God (177) and to converse with him in vision and speech (178).

The idea that the prophet is a "witness" who testifies to God's existence and power seems to be not very prominent in our sources (179). The "shepherd" idea is represented and usually applied to Moses (180). The prophets are God's servants (181), to whom he can and does direct his orders (182). Peace is the one great goal of the prophets (183), and it is their duty to prevent wars (184). Needless to say, the various activities of the biblical prophets are reflected in the Rabbinic tradition. Prophets are mentioned as royal advisers (185) and politicians (186), anointers of kings (187), and assistants in the construction of the Temple (188). They are occupied with various other less important activities for the benefit of the nation (189).

In this connection another biblical custom of the prophets is mentioned, viz., symbolical action.

Jonah and Samuel poured oil on Jehu and Saul from vials, not from horns, indicating by this symbol that their reigns would be of short duration (190). The prophets anticipated by certain of their actions the miracles of the world to come. They resurrected the dead, dried out the seas and rivers, made the blind see, the childless ~~to~~ bear, and the kings bow down in reverence (191). Symbolical actions were used by the popular prophets of the Tannaitic age, e.g., by the Essene Manaemos before Herod (192) and by Agabus (193). Christian exegetes considered certain deeds of the biblical prophets as symbolical actions, anticipating Christ's deeds or the function of the Church, such as Moses' lifting up the serpent (194) or Jacob's, Moses' and Hosea's marriages (195).

There are a few conceptions of the prophetic mission which have parallels in Hellenic and Hellenistic thinking. These ideas are not very prominent in the pre-Hellenistic part of the Scriptures and have, for the most part, not been re-shaped by the Holy Spirit theory in the Rabbinic account. Neither is there a close connection with other Rabbinic theological tendencies, centering around the Law, the nation, or the conception of righteousness. They must have corresponded, however, to the taste of the time and may quite

well be influenced by the Hellenistic environment.

The first of these ideas describes the prophet as putting questions before the Godhead. He is, in a way, a Jewish Pythia. R. Eleazar ben Azariah (196) sees four such questions and their answers in the biblical account on Moses (197). Moses (198), Isaiah (199), and Ezekiel (200) were supposed to have brought the more difficult and intricate questions before God. The prophet, promised to the people in "Deut." 18.14, will be sent in order that people may have נחה להשאל, a living oracle (201). Prophet and oracle were believed to perform similar functions (202). The Midrash describes such oracular prophecies. The people put a question before the prophet. The prophet bids them wait, goes to another place where he consults God and returns to the people with an answer (203). These stories may resemble Hellenistic patterns, describing the function of the oracles. Philo, in his classification of prophecy, mentions this type of prophetic activity as one of three possible types (204) and sees such oracular inquiries in various passages of the "Pentateuch" (205). This does not mean, however, that the suggestion for this idea came from the biblical narrative. A Hellenistic idea seems to be the stimulant, and the biblical

account the proof-material.

Since all the authors of biblical books were prophets in Rabbinic thought, as we shall see, it is not surprising to find the idea that it was the task of the prophet to put into writing the history of Israel and mankind. But this idea is not merely a feature of the Rabbinic conception of prophetic literature. It seems to have an existence of its own in some of our texts. Josephus describes the prophet as a historian and chronicler (206), connecting this idea of prophetic historiography only loosely and superficially with the idea of inspiration. According to the Midrash the prophets are believed to have recorded the good deeds of man (207). זכרון and prophetic literature are identical for "Yerushalmi Megillah" 70d (208). The "Books of The Chronicles", close to Rabbinic thought, conceived the seers and prophets as royal annalists and authors of historical books, viz., Samuel, Gad, Nathan, Hozai (or the "seers"), Iddo, Ahiah, Semaiah and Isaiah (208a). Greek antiquity and Hellenism also esteemed the historian highly and paid high tribute to the written account of the times.

It is compatible with this thought that

Tannaitic and later traditions promoted a more lyrical or theological prophet to the authorship of historical books in the Scriptures. "Baba Bathra" 14b/15a names as the authors of the historical books Joshua; Samuel, who besides "his" book composed "Judges"; Jeremiah, who wrote the "Books of Kings" and Ezra, who wrote "Ezra" and "Nehemiah" together with the "Books of The Chronicles", which were finished by Nehemiah. An Amoraic discussion ascribes smaller portions of "Joshua" to Eleazar and Phinehas, and of "Samuel" to Gad and Nathan (209).

Leisegang (210) has drawn attention to a Hellenistic ethical tendency, directed against a more irrational and mythical conception of prophecy and stressing the use of ratio. As a result, in some beliefs the prophet becomes the "hermeneutes" (211). Leisegang holds that Paul in "I Cor." 14.1-5 has knowledge of this Hellenistic thought. Philo mentions a similar function of the prophet, or a certain type of prophecy: the prophet acts as God's "hermeneutes" (212), i.e., he makes clear and understandable to the public what the Godhead announces to him (213). The Apocalypse has its prophets explain the contents of their visions (214). ~~The Essenes, Philo and, perhaps, Josephus believe that the interpretation of the Holy Scriptures~~

~~requires~~ ~~prophetic~~ ~~inspiration~~ ~~(215)~~. The interpreters of the words spoken by tongues in early Christianity are called prophets. ~~The~~ ~~"Letter~~ ~~of~~ "Aristeas" and Philo believe the translators of the "Septuagint" to be inspired men (216). In the Midrash the translation of the prophetic "Targum" seems to have been considered prophetically inspired (217). In the biblical account Joseph and Daniel are described as prophets owing to their capacity of interpreting dreams. According to the Midrash, Aaron, called "Nabhi" by "Exodus" 4.16, is the interpreter of Moses' words (218).

There are a few indications that the prophet was conceived as resembling an ideal figure of Hellenic civilization: the ῥήτωρ . The prophets, according to the Midrash, speak literally to all of Israel, and (IV) Ezra calls together a general assembly of the city. Market-places and streets (219), synagogues (220), and the Temple in the Gospels are believed to be the scene of prophetic speech. The prophet is a man of public activity. According to "Midr.Ps." 111.1 קרא , the public proclamation, is synonymous with prophecy in "Is." 44.5 and "Jonah" 3.2. In a midrashic list of biblical terms for prophecy הלוצה and הגדה denote the prophetic word spoken in public (221). The eloquence and rhetorical charm of the prophets are great, since

prophecy is meant by the words of "Ps." 45, 2, 3, 73.14, "Micha" 2.6, and all biblical mention of the root נבא (222).

In "Luke" 12.11f. and "The Testament of Reuben" the gift of inspired speech is similar to the stoic conception of pneumatic speech. The element of speech, the strength of the spoken word, the urge to pronounce has probably been felt and accepted as a pneumatic gift by the ancient world. The ancient Orient knew of the power of the divine word, both in the sphere of the cosmos and the human world (223). In the Midrash a similar experience led to another synonym for prophecy and the Holy Spirit, the "Word" (224). The Midrash often stresses the suddenness of the arrival of the inspired word (225).

The first prophets are considered teachers of all mankind, missionaries, messengers to the heathen, and fighters against idolatry. Since the Jewish nation was not in existence at their time, it is only logical to assume that their task was missionary prophecy among the heathen. They also resemble strongly primeval sages, who bless mankind by the teachings of monotheism and introduce the gift of culture and civilization to the world. This idea seems to be an adaptation to

Hellenistic conceptions, although not without a pattern in the biblical writings (226). Enoch teaches all people wisdom (227); and Abraham, God's prophet, is the teacher of mankind (228). The early prophets, the patriarchs in particular, are apostles of monotheism (229); even prophecy as a whole can be conceived as a struggle against idolatry (230). To be sure, legalism is influential in the idea that the early patriarchs possessed an antecedent of the Sinaitic Law, the seven Noachite commandments, revealed to Noah for the benefit of the heathen. In some sources, however, the early prophets are mainly the first champions of monotheism. Even Aaron and Moses (231) are said to have participated in this great struggle against idolatry. Philo's and Josephus' conception of the task of the earlier prophets coincides with this idea. It is possible that these views reflect the enthusiasm and the great irony with which Hellenistic Judaism fought contemporary idolatry.

Equally prominent is the idea that the first prophets and sages founded material civilization. Adam taught mankind all the crafts, especially the art of writing, forging, tanning, ploughing with the ox, and the use of various foods (232), seeds and plants (232a). He was the inventor of the seventy languages (233).

Enoch was the father of astronomy and of the calendar (234). Noah introduced the use of the vine and of other plants (235). This function of creating civilization among mankind is, in Greek and Hellenistic literature, the task of the "ἥρως" (236). The "heros" is simultaneously seer and prophet (237). It is not surprising, therefore, to find in Hellenistic-Jewish sources quite frequently prophet-heroes such as Enoch, Methuselah, Abraham, and Moses (238).

VI

Wisdom and prophecy had been identified with some Stoics and with Philo. Wisdom was considered a spiritual gift; the wise man was a pneumatic figure. Another theory claimed that the sage only could achieve the height of prophecy owing to his wisdom (239). The identification of wisdom and "Torah" (240), completed at an early date in the Hellenistic period of Judaism (241), gave this idea a broad basis: the prophet is a sage, prophecy is wisdom, and vice versa. There are no precise border-lines between prophecy and wisdom (or Law and wisdom) for Ben Sirach (242), the "Wisdom of Solomon" (243), the "Sibylline Books" (244), the "Psalms of Solomon" (245), and the "Testament of Levi" (246).

It is wisdom that inspires prophecy. The biblical and apocryphal "Spirit of Wisdom" is similar to the "Holy Spirit" (247). Also in Midrashic literature "wisdom" is sometimes equivalent to prophetic "inspiration", i.e., the Holy Spirit (248). The same terminology is frequently used for both wisdom and inspiration (249). God's spirit gives wisdom to man (250) just as it causes prophecy. "Aboth de R. Nathan", A I, p.8, speaks of a "Spirit of Wisdom", which is acquired by good deeds as is the Holy Spirit. Just as wisdom had become a hypostasis at an early period (251), so the Holy Spirit was hypostasized at a later date (252).

There are more examples for the connection or identity of wisdom with the Holy Spirit (prophetic inspiration) in the Midrash. The idea that wisdom is the presupposition for prophecy is expressed in a popular catena of the sorites form (253). Full identity is presupposed in the statements that the sages or teachers of the Law are prophets (254), and the prophets "children of wisdom" (255). Moses is the "father of wisdom and father of the prophets" (256). Wisdom and prophecy, sages and prophets are synonyms or explain each other in the usage of many midrashic formulations (257). The gnostic conception of the "anthropos", who

is also primeval sage and prophet, may have strengthened these conceptions (258).

Wisdom in the ancient conception comprised various other human capacities such as the judicial and various artistic faculties. This idea is represented in the Midrash, since it was compatible with Rabbinic thought, the Law comprising the architecture of the Temple, cultic music and similar fields.

The judicial activity is considered pneumatic and related to prophecy in "Genesis Rabba" 85 (referring to Solomon's judgments). In "Tanhuma Vayakhel" 5 we find the identification of wisdom with the Spirit of God, referring to the judge Othniel and based on biblical suggestions. One Midrash emphasizes the fact that in the biblical narrative prophets and judges are both called אלהים (259). In "Exodus Rabba" 32.1, "Ps." 82.1 ("ye are gods and sons of the Most High") is understood of the Holy Spirit of the judges.

According to Rabbinic thought Bezalel, the artist, and Achitophel, the architect of the Temple, were inspired (260). As early as the "Books of The Chronicles", seers, musicians, singers (261), and poets are on one level. In some of David's psalms the

inspiration preceded the composition of the text and the accompaniment on the harp, whereas in others the play on the harp evoked the inspiration (262). The biblical songs and the mention of singing in the Bible presuppose or indicate, according to the Midrash, prophetic inspiration (263). The panegyric was the privilege of the angels (264). Owing to the existence of the canon, however, Rabbinic thought had to distinguish between inspired poetry in the Bible and secular poetry outside the Bible. In the opinion of one source which does not recognize the inspired character of "Ecclesiastes", this book was composed only by Solomon's imagination, without the Holy Spirit (265). The Midrash holds that poetry is well ordered and rational; prophecy, however, must be what the sudden inspiration of the Holy Spirit dictates (266). In apocalyptic and pseudepigraphic literature there is still another element current in the statements on inspired songs, which emphasizes the ecstasy connected with the inspired song (267).

Although these ideas on prophetic wisdom largely agree with Hellenic and Hellenistic conceptions, the Jewish variant is characterized by a far-reaching limitation of inspiration to the biblical canon and to activities and works connected with the Temple. Further-

more , the Jewish conception of wisdom usually means "Torah" and the "Fear of God" rather than worldly knowledge of the sciences and arts. Still, conceptions close to Hellenistic thinking have made considerable inroads into Rabbinism.

VII

The greatest triumph which the legalistic religious thought achieved was connected with another aspect of the conception of prophecy, viz., with the idea that prophecy had come to an end some time after the foundation of the Second Temple. The authority of scholars, scribes and legalists had become so great, the institutions of Judaism so much rooted in the religious convictions of the majority that prophecy had to withdraw step by step before the stronghold of established and recognized authority, of Sanhedrin, kings, priests, the organs of religious Law, and the Roman administration. To be sure, the disappearance of prophecy was by no means complete or sudden, as many of the modern treatments of the subject try to suggest. We will show that belief in prophecy and actual prophecy survived and revived in various forms, in popular thought, in gnostic and mystic piety, and

in early Christianity. The classical form of prophecy, however, seems to have developed either into mere literary activity, as in Ben Sirach's case, or the prophets had become mere miracle workers, seers of the future, announcers of catastrophes without the ethical message, organizers of the national resistance against the foreign overlord, as, e.g., Zealotic prophets, and messianic heralds, proclaiming the arrival of the "Kingdom of Heaven". The apocalyptic movement was pseudepigraphic; the self-confidence of the authors had vanished and needed the traditionally sanctioned name of a historical prophet as a cover.

A more or less limited canon of holy scriptures was in existence centuries before its final fixation in the first century A.D., representing the "Pentateuch", the bulk of the prophetic writings, and a loose appendix of various other writings, the foundation of the later "Hagiographa" (268). The final "official" declaration of the end of "classical" prophecy by the Rabbis was probably directed against popular prophecy and the spread of pseudepigraphic writings, also against Christian literature, but confirmed, at the same time, a widely recognized fact. There was no room or need for free speculation and inspiration except outside the bounds of an authoritative canon and a total Law.

However, with their sometimes surprisingly fine observation of historical developments, which stands frequently rather abruptly beside unhistorical theological construction, the Rabbis seem to have been well aware of the fact that the early Tannaitic time was an exalted and "pneumatic" period and not devoid of inspiration and revelation. They accepted, therefore, among other ideas the belief in the activity of the Heavenly Voice, which became a recognized organ of revelation and enhanced the Rabbinic prestige in this period of transition from prophecy to the absolute power of the Rabbis.

Some sources mention expressly the dogma that authority and leadership have been transplanted from the prophets to the wise, e.g., "Seder Olam" 30: "Until Alexander the Macedonian were the prophets prophesying in the Holy Spirit; from then on and later: 'incline thine ear and hear the words of the wise' " (269). "Since the day of the destruction of the Temple prophecy has been taken from the prophets and been given to the wise " (270). "Ps." 105.16 was interpreted by Rabh as describing the school children and adepts of Rabbinical lore (271) and not, as in Berakhiah's interpretation, the patriarchs and matriarchs.

ADDITIONS

The prophets divulge the divine mysteries without authority (on p.39).

Another example for this idea seems to be represented in "Pes." 56a, in a Midrash on Jacob's loss of the Holy Spirit on his deathbed. Whereas in many parallel Midrashim Jacob loses the Holy Spirit owing to his dismay incurred in foreseeing his future wicked descendants, in our variant he seems to be punished for his desire to reveal the "end" to his sons. Our passage, however, seems to represent an incomplete form of the original Midrash (not clearly stating the reason for the loss of the Holy Spirit) rather than the original version of the story.

Conclusions

In the earlier Tannaitic sources the Law-centered thought of the Rabbis made the prophets authoritative founders of important and lasting institutions in the religious and juridicial fields. Later authors took all the vestiges of legal authority from the prophets in view of the all-comprising revelation at Mt. Sinai, and subjected prophetic activity to the rules of the written and oral Law. Amoraic opinions simply declared the talmudic scholar superior to the prophet, an idea which is parallel to the more ancient idea of Moses', the Lawgiver's, superiority over the prophets and the "Pentateuch"'s rank before the prophetic writings. A number of authors discovered various negative traits, imperfection and sin, in the figures of the prophets, another form of the deprecation which prophecy had to suffer.

An attempt at harmonizing Law with prophecy was made by declaring the prophet a scholar in the talmudic manner, or a champion of the observance or the reestablishment of the divine Law. These conceptions of the task of the prophet and, in addition, his great message of consolation connected with his care for the nation created a trend toward a high evaluation of the prophet in Rabbinic writings, based on an Israel-centered

piety and theology.

Loosely connected with these main lines of thought, we find a few minor conceptions: the prophet as a herald magnifying God; as a messenger, as a witness, a shepherd, and a proclaimer of peace. Parallel to Hellenistic conceptions are the ideas or traces of ideas of the prophet as an inquirer of the Deity, as an historian, as a "hermeneutes", as a rhetorician, as a missionary, as a teacher and founder of civilization; as a sage, a judge, an artist or poet.

Wisdom and prophecy are frequently identified or believed to be dependent on each other. Most of the Rabbinic parallels to Hellenistic conceptions try to attach wisdom and prophecy to the Law or the Temple.

The greatest triumph of legalistic thought, backed by the factual decline of classical prophecy, was the creation of the (not generally accepted) dogma that authoritatively inspired prophecy had come to an end.

Notes

1) cp. Lods' work.

2) II Chron. 29.25; I Chron. 9.22, 28.12, etc.

3) often referred to as נביאים שבהם or דוד , e.g., jTaan. 68; BK 82a; Meg. Taan. 6, etc.

4) Ezra 9.11; Yeb. 77a; Yeb. 16a (Tannaitic); on Solomon cp. Ginzberg VI, p. 282, n. 18.

5) I Chron. 28.12, I Macc. 9.54, Midr. Tann. p. 48, Sed. Ol. 20, Mi. Sheh. 2.2; Taan. 17b, I Chron. 9.22, Mi. Taan. 4.2, Tos. Taan. 4.2, Tos. Taan. 2.1, Taan. 27a, jTaan. 68a; Meg. Taan. 6, jTaan. 68b, Sheb. 15b/16a.

6) jSheb. 33b; Hullin 137b; Mi. Yad. 4.3; Yeb. 16a (Tannaitic); Bekh. 58a.

7) Zechariah, Kidd. 43a, author: Shammai.

8) Haggai, Zechariah, Malachi, Naz. 53a, Jacob b. Idi.

9) Samuel, Zeb. 32a, Ber. 31b.

10) Jeremiah, Ezekiel, Baruch, jNed. 40a, Baraitha.

11) BK 81a.

12) cp. Ginzberg IV, p. 356, VI, p. 445, n. 49.

13) the first prophets and Solomon: jSheb. 33b; Tos.Erub. 11.22; Ginzberg VI, p. 282, n. 18.

14) Meg. 17b-18a, jBer. 4d, 11c, Yoma 69b; Tanh. Ki Thabho B 1; Midr. Sam. #31, 69b-70a; Ber. 48b; Midr. Ps. 90.2; Shab. 14b; Ginzberg VI, p. 449, n. 58 (the patriarchs).

15) Mekh. 15.22; BK 82a; jMeg. 75a; Meg. 14a, jMeg. 70d (Baraitha); Zeb. 62a; Shab. 104a.

16) above.

17) I Macc. 4.44-46, 14.41.

18) Strack-Billerbeck IV, pp. 792ff.

19) Deut. 18.15ff.

20) S Dt. #175; the Sanhedrin-material.

21) cp. Ez. 18.4; jMakk. 5a, Yalk. Shim. Ps. #702.

21a) Shab. 14b; Tos. Taan. on the priestly guards; Mekh. 15.22; Sed. Ol. #20, etc.

22) Tos. Taan. 2.1; jErub. 26d.

23) since II Chron. 29.25; Dan. 9.10; S Num. #111, etc.

24) Josephus, passim; LXX Ezra 9.11.

25) e.g., the reading of the Esther-roll on Purim, jMeg. 70d, etc.

26) Taan. 17b; Shab. 104a; jSukkah 54b, etc.

27) Agg. Ber. #14, p. 32. 28) jMeg. 70d, Jonathan.

29) S Dt. #175; Midr. Ps. 37.6, #6.

30) Baraitha in jMeg. 70d אין נביא אחד עתיד (or רשאי) לחדש דבר בעתון (Lev. 27.34 as basis); Midr. Ruth on 2.4; Sifra Lev. 115d; Shab. 104a; Yoma 80a; Temurah 77a; Meg. 2b/3a; Lev. R. 27.34; Num. R. 36.13, etc.

31) Ex. R. 28.6, Tanh. Yithro #11.

32) Eccl. R. on 1.10.

33) R. Isaac, Ex.R. 28.6. According to R. Samuel b. Nachman the souls of all future mankind were present at Mt. Sinai. Tanh. Nizzovim B #8.

34) Ber. 5a. 35) Ex.R. 42, Eccl. R.

36) Tanh. Behaalothkha B #22; this statement limited in jPeah 15a; cp. Ps. Philo 35.6: "from whom all the prophets drew".

37) Ex.R., ibidem. 38) Justin, Tryphon, #27.

39) BB 12a, Ps. 90.12 as scriptural basis. Heinemann, Geist, p. 187, n.1, is hardly right when he calls the passage paradoxical and concerned with a lower grade of prophecy. There are too many parallels which present the existence of this devaluation of prophecy.

40) Cant. R. 1.2; jSanh. 30b; jBer. 3b; cp. Bacher, Amoraeer III, pp. 637-38.

41) cp., however, Ch. V on the prophetic power of the Rabbis. Endami or Abdimi of Haipha, about 280 A.D., BB 12a.

42) Amoraic discussion, ibidem.

43) BB 12a; Erub. 60b; Bekh. 45a; cp. Bacher, Terminologie II, p. 123.

44) Based on Zech. 3.8, Tos. Hor. 2.8-10, jHor. 48b, Hor. 13a.

45) e.g., Shammai, Kidd. 43a; in early Tannaitic times probably more frequent. Charles, Apocrypha II, p. 79, suggests that the Zadokites derived Halakhah from the prophetical writings.

46) Hag. 10b; Niddah 23a; BK 2b, Baraitha, etc.

46a) Mi. Yad. 4.3, R. Yehoshua.

47) הפטרה, addition of small prophetical portions.

48) j Meg. 70d, R. Jochanan; R. Shimon b. Lakish; save the Book of Esther.

49) Niddah 22b, Eccl. R. 1.13.

50) since Deut. Ch. 34. 51) Assumptio Mosis 11.16.

52) Lev.R. 1.3, Huna b. Abba, R. Levi; Midr. Ps. 90.1, #8 (This implies that he is the first of the prophets).

53) Midr. Ps. ibidem.

54) or "father of wisdom" and similar titles; Sed. Ol.#30.

55) S Num. #135 (better than the text in #134); Ber. 10a,etc.

56) Midr. Sam. #27, 64b; Gen. R. 76.1; Tanh. Brakhah #6; B #5; "fairest and most eminent": Cant. R. 1.7, # 2.

57) Tanh. Pekudey #7.

58) Lev. R. 1.14: R. Yehudah b. Ilai, the Rabbis, Phinehas b. Hoshayah; Ex. R. 2 on 3.3; S Num. #103; MRSJ, p. 114, Eccl. R. 3.11, R. Ismael or anon., I Cor. 13.12; II Cor. 3.18. Other material: Ginzberg VI, pp. 44-45, n. 242.

59) R. Nehemiah, Ruth. R. Pr. 5, 5.8; cp. further Ginzberg V, p. 414, n. 109; Lam. Z. 3.1.

60) Deut. R. 2.4.

61) Midr. Tann. 2; Samuel and Moses; Tanh. Zav #13.

62) Tanh. ibidem.

63) Midr. Sam. #15, 46a; he and Samuel: Tanh. ibidem.

64) S Deut. #357.

65) PR 12a/b.

66) cp. Schermann, p.8.

67) cp. Ch. IV.

68) Year Book, etc.

69) cp. F. Burkitt, Jewish and Christian Apocalypses, London, 1914, on Gen.R.44.

70) sources: Strack-Billerbeck I, p. 602.

71) Midr. Ps. 7.1, #17; 90.1, #7 (on Habakkuk and David); jBer. 11c; jMeg. 70c, Joshua b. Levi; jMakk. 31d; PR 158b (Phinehas b. Chama, about 360 A.D.); Lam. R. on 1.19, Simon b. Yochai.

72) The Midrashim and Targumim on Genesis 45.27.

73) Midr. Ps. 46.1, #1.

74) Lev. R. 1.14, R. Yehudah b. Ilai and the Rabbis; Ex. R. 45.

75) Gen. R. 44.12.

76) Mekh. 15.2 and 19.11, R. Eliezer or Elazar.

77) Meg. 3a, R. Jeremiah or Hiyya b. Abba.

78) Moses, Miriam, David, Jonah, etc.

79) S Deut. #17, on 1.17, Midr. Tann., p. 10: on the three greatest of the prophets: Moses, Samuel, Isaiah. On the priest Zechariah: Lam. R. Introd. #23; Eccl. R. 10.4; Sanh. 69b. On Nehemiah: Sanh. 93b; on Moses: ARN A and B I, p.3; other material: Ginzberg VI, pp. 109, 148-49. On Deborah and Huldah: Meg. 14a, R. Nachman; on Deborah: Rabh, and on Elisha: Resh Lakish, Pes. 66b.

80) Yeb. 49b-50a.

81) Pes. 87b.

82) Lam. R. on 2.14, Elazar and Samuel b. Nachman; Num. R. 9.18; S Deut. #84, Sanh. 90a, R. Akiba (on Hanaiah b. Azzur); Targ. Cant. 7.1: the prophets "speak in rebellion against the Lord".

83) S Deut. #177; Tos. Sanh. 14.14, etc.

84) Sanh. 106a, R. Jochanan; cp. Philo, de vita Mosis I.

85) cp. Halliday, pp. 71f.

86) similar stories, probably imitating this pattern, can be found in later sources, e.g., Kaneh 36a and Yalkut Reubeni on Gen. 1.26, etc.

87) Hennecke, p. 30.

88) advers. Pelag. 3.2.

89) cp. Strack-Billerbeck I, p. 246: e.g., Ned. 22b, Ada b. Chanina, 4th cent.

90) PRK #14, 116a.

91) Tanh. Vayakhel, B 62a.

92) Gen. R. 45.5, R. Chanina.

93) Gen. R. 10, Lev. R. 22.3, Eccl. R. 5.8, Ex. R. 10.1, R. Acha b. Chanina.

95) full account in Ch. II.

96) Tamar and Rahab were supposed to have been pagans and prostitutes.

97) a lost version of Sepher Yetsirah, cp. Ginzberg V, p. 209, n. 13.

98) Eccl. R. 5.11, R. Jochanan. Moses alone: S Num. 27.2, R. Eliezer; Abraham: Yoma 28b.

99) PRK 125b, Lev. R. 13.2, R.Yudan b. Simon, about 320 A.D.

100) Targ. II Ki. 22.14 and Targ. II Chr. 24.22.

101) S Deut. #34; Mekh. 12.1; Sanh. 107b, R. Jochanan; Cant. R. 7.8, Simon b. Yochai (pseudepigraphic), and many others.

102) Lam. R. 1.18; PR 129b: Zephaniah is Jeremiah's teacher; Baruch is Ezra's teacher, Isaiah Daniel's in Cant. R. 7.8; Balaam is Beor's teacher, Sanh. 105a, R. Yochanan.

103) e.g., Samuel, Midr. Sam. #3, 27a.

104) Elijah and Elisha, jBer. 8d.

105) Sed. Ol. But this chain may represent mystic tradition, cp. Ch. IV.

106) cp. W. Scott, Hermetica I, 1924, p.3.

107) Mi. Ab. 1.1; ARN, A and B I, p. 2; Mi. Peah 2.6 and Naz. 56b, R. Nahum the Scribe; Eduy. 8.7; Tos. Yad. 2.16, R. Eliezer; jSanh. 28a. Tradition is here compared with a ball, thrown from generation to generation.

108) cp. Ginzberg, n. 24 on Samuel.

109) Midr. Sam #15, 46b, R. Samuel.

110) cp. Ch. IV.

111) I, p. 257.

112) Midr. Sam. #8, 36a, Eccl. R. 10, Lev. R. 2.

113) Mekh. 12.1. "great (things)".

114) Midr. Ps. 75, #5; Lam. R. 2.3, etc.

115) מדה טובה, Ex. R. 32.3.

116) Cant. R. 3.6, Simon b. Jochai.

117) Cant. R. 1.7.

118) Sed. Ol. #21.

119) Midr. Ps. 45.1, #5.

120) S Deut. #48; Sed. Ol. #21; jSanh. 28b, Gen. R. 41.3, Lev. R. 11.7, etc.

121) cp. Sed. Ol., end; Hor. 10b; Hullin 56b; Num. R. 20.1, etc.

122) S Deut. #48.

123) I Cor. 14.3, cp. Paul's words with the famous talmudic discussion whether the prophets' words are predominantly exhortation or consolation, cp. n. 140.

124) Makk. 23b-24a.

125) Tanh. Haazinu #2, B #2.

126) Sanh. 105a; Shab. 104a.

127) common in PRK, PR, Sed. Ol. #24, Midr. Tann. p. 14, PRK 122a.

128) Eccl., Amos, Jeremiah, cp. Eccl. R. 1.1, S Deut. #1; these and Deut., II Sam. 23.1ff., Job, Moses, Jacob and Joshua before their deaths in Midr. Tann., p. 1.

129) Num. R. #9 on 5.30.

130) חורבנא, Jeremiah, BB 13b.

131) Sanh. 106a, R. Jonathan; Hag. 14a, R. Dimi; PRE 29; PRK 148b; PR 139b.

132) Gen. R. 41.3.

133) BB 13b, ARN, etc.

134) קשה לשון or חמור , S Num. 12.1, #99.

135) S Num., ibidem; Mekh. 12.1; Gen. R. 44.6, Cant. R. 3.4, R. Eliezer and R. Jochanan.

136) II Macc. 2.1ff.; Cant. R. on 3.6, Simon b. Yochai; Mekh. 12.1.

137) Eccl. R. 1.13, R. Hunia; Yalk. Shim. Is. #368. Similarly Eccl. R. 1.27, R. Samuel b. Nachman.

138) cp. II Baruch 81.4; II Macc. 15.9.

139) PR 1b; סנטור .

140) PR 138b-139a. Cp. I Cor. 14.3. On Isaiah: Ex. R. 15.

141) PR 140b; Lam. R. 1.2, R. Judah b. Simon, R. Aibo, R. Nehemiah, PRK 148b, PR 139b.

142) Makk. 24a, Jose b. Chanina; Lam. R. 5.21, Jossai b. Abin.

143) thus R. Jochanan against R. Eleazar: Midr. Ps. 4.9, #12, jBer. 8d, BB 14b, Tos. Ber. 3.21, PRK 116a, etc. Another solution in this sense: Lam. R. 5.40, introduction #34, R. Jacob against Acha (Abba) and R. Jochanan against R. Eleazar.

144) Lev. R. 10.2; PRK 125b-126a; PR 150a-b; ARN, A40 and B46, p. 128.

145) PRK 125b.

146) Cant. R. 1.6.

147) Cant. R. 1.16, applied to prophecy; Midr. Ps. 74.9, #3.

148) Yalk. Shim. Is. #368. Dostai b. Jehudah, S. Deut. #309, asserts that the prophets, Jeremiah included, blessed Israel.

150) ARN, B46, p. 128.

151) cp. also Strack-Billerbeck II, pp. 124ff.

152) Shab. 138b.

153) Sanh. 17a, R. Nachman.

154) jBer. 8d, R. Judan.

155) Nock adduces W.W. Tarn, JRS 22 (1932), pp.135ff.; Reitzenstein-Schaeder, Studien zum antiken Synkretismus, pp. 38ff.; F. Cumont, RHR 103 (1931), pp. 29ff.

156) cp. Ch. IV.

157) Tanh. Balak #1 and B#1.; Num. R. 20.1.

158) jTaan. 64a, Gen. R. 41.3.

159) PRK 143b.

160) Habakkuk, Midr. Ps. 7.16, #17 and similarly 77.2, #1, Taan. 23a.

161) Lam. R. on 1.19; Lam. R., introduction #23. Ezekiel: Cant. R. 7.8.

162) PR 129b.

162a) cp. esp. the Tanhuma Midrashim and Lam. R.

163) Cant. R. 1.7, Jossai b. Jeremiah.

164) PR 138b-139a, Abba b. Kahana.

165) PRK 125b.

166) Midr. Ps. 101.1, #4; R. Eliezer, R. Joshua.

167) שובה , Tos. Ber. 3.21, jBer. 8d, etc.

168) MRSJ, pp. 170f. In this source promises are concessions to the scepticism of the crowd.

169) like in Deut. 32.4, Eccl. R. 3.11.

170) כי הגידו אדומה , Hos. 12.11, is the scriptural basis for most of the following Midrashim. Gen. R. 27.1 (on parallels cp. Theodor), R. Judan, Eccl. R. 2.21, Judan b. Simon, Eccl. R. 8.1, R. Simon, R. Judan, Num. R. 19.4; Midr. Ps. 1.1, Hiskiah b. Judah, PRK 36a, Judah b. Simon, PR 61b. Cp. Bacher, Amoraeer III, p. 191.

170a) ARN, B37, p. 95; A34, p. 102. Lev. R. 22.3, Eccl. R. 5.8, etc. Tanh. Shemini #9; PR 153b; 13a. Ex. R. 5.14.

171) מלוה . Tanh. Vayikra #8, PRK 138b-139a, and many others.

172) ARN, cp. above.

173) Jer. 7.25, Is. Ch. 6, Ex. 3.10, Mal. 3.23, II Chron., passim.

174) Midr. Ps. 78, #5, BM 86b.

175) Theologisches Woerterbuch, I, p. 421, end.

176) PR 129af., jSanh. 30b, Midr. Sam. p. 64.

177) Gen. R. 27.1, etc. Eccl. R. 3.11; MRSJ, p. 170f.

178) Gen. R. 44.6.

179) Lam. R. on 3.13.

180) cp. above.

181) ARN, B37, p. 95, A34, p. 102.

182) S Num. #111.

183) S Num. #42 and Num.R. #11, both on 6.26, R. Eleazar.

184) Phinehas is blamed for not having done so, Lam. R. 11.

185) II Chron. 25.7-10; Sed. Ol. 20, Meg. 10b, Sotah 10b.

186) e.g., Jeremiah's activities. Cp. Ginzberg, Index.

187) Tos. Sukkah 1.9.

188) Ezra 4.5; LXX I Esdras 6.1, etc.

189) despatching the explorers of the land, Targ. Cant. 2.7; opening the doors after the liberation through Cyrus, Cant. Z. 5.2, Eleazar.

190) Meg. 14a; Hor. 12a; Keritoth 6a.

191) cp. Ch. V. Tanh. Emor, #8, B #12, Sam. b. Nachman.

192) Josephus, Ant. XV, pp. 373ff.

193) Acts 11.27ff.

194) Justin, Dial. #94.

195) Justin, Dial., #134; Irenaeus IV, 20.12.

196) S Num. #103, on 12.13.

197) Ex. 6.12 and 6.1, Num. 27.16 and 27.18, Num. 12.13 and 13.14, Deut. 3.23 and 3.26.

198) Midr. Sam. #14, 45a, Judah b. Simon, Samuel b. Isaac, Pedath.

199) Taan. 64a.

200) Cant. R. 7.8, Simon b. Jochai, Pseudepigraphic.

201) Midr. Tann., p. 111, on Deut. 18.14.

202) Sotah 48b; Ezra 2.63.

203) cp. note 200); jTaan. 64a.

204) cp. Cohn-Wendland on "Vita Mosis" #188.

205) Lev. 24.12, Num. 9.6-14, 15.38ff, 27.1ff., "Vita Mosis"##246-292.

206) c. Ap. I, 6.7.

207) Ruth. R. on 2.14, R. Levi; at present being done by the prophet Elijah.

208) many parallels, Jonathan or Samuel b. Nachman.

208a) I 29.29, II 9.29, II 33.19, II 12.15, 26.22 and 32.32.

209) BB 14b-15a.

210) II, pp. 117ff.

211) Platon, Timaeos 72A.

212) Vita Mosis #188.

213) de praem. et poen. #55, cp. Fascher, p. 156; Vita Mosis ##187ff.

214) cp. the biblical Daniel, Ezekiel, IV Ezra, etc.

215) Philo, Quod omn. prob. #12, Josephus, Bell. III 8.9.

216) Philo, Quod rer. div. her. 37, Vita Mosis II 37-41.

217) Meg. 3a: Jonathan b. Uzziel translates the Prophets according to the instruction of Haggai, Zechariah and Malachi. The earthquake and the cry of the Bath Kol during the translation strengthen this impression.

218) Targum Onkelos and Ex. R. 8.3, "Amora".

219) PR 129b; Sanh. 90a and parallels.

220) PR, ibidem and many other passages.

221) ARN B37, p. 95, A34, p. 102.

222) Midr. Ps., ibidem, jBer. 3b, Tanhum b. Chiyya; Sed. Ol. 21; ARN, cp. note 221.

223) cp. Duerr's book.

224) Enoch 91.1; ARN, A1, p. 1; B37, p. 95; A34, p. 102; Mekh. and MRSJ on Ex. 12.1, passim, Yeb. 62a, etc.

225) PR 12a, Tanh. Vayar on Isaac's sacrifice, etc.

226) Gen. 4.20-22.

227) Vitae Enoch, Jellinek IV, pp. 129-132.

228) Jellinek I, pp. 25-34, V, pp. 40-41; on Assumptio Mosis cp. Ginzberg V, p. 215, n. 42.

229) Sib. III, 582ff; cp. Abraham's missionary activities in Ginzberg's Index.

230) S Num. #111.

231) Jellinek II, 1-11, Vitae Mosis.

232) all the versions of the Book of Adam, cp. Ginzberg V, p. 83, n. 31.

232a) Midr. Ps. 104.

233) Gen. R. 24.7, Philo, Quaest. in Gen. 1.21-22, Eusebius 575c, Augustine, Quaest. Ex. 69

234) PRE 8.

235) Gen. R. 36.3, Tanh. Noah 15, etc., Philo, de plant. Noae.

236) cp. Pauly-Wissowa, VIII. 1113.

237) Pauly-Wissowa VIII 1116, Kalchas, Teiresias, etc.

238) cp. Freudenthal, pp. 88, 97, etc. Artapan: Moses as inventor of art and science: 432b, p. 155.

239) Cicero, de div. II 63. Particularly stressed by Philo.

240) cp. Rankin, p. IX; Moore, pp. 264 ff. and notes.

241) Prov. 8.22ff. Cp. also Deut. 4.1-20.

242) 24.33.

243) 7.22, 27, 9.17ff. 7.22, " νοερόν ", is a Stoic term.

244) III 582.

245) 18.8.

246) 2.3.

247) e.g., Job 32.18f. Frequent in apocalyptic literature.

248) jSotah 17b, interpreting Prov. 7.4, R. Jochanan; Sed. Ol. 30, on Daniel 2.21; Tos. Sotah 11.5; Tos. Ber. 3.21; Sed. Ol. 21, חכמה is understood of prophecy.

249) PRK 66b, הסתלק מן .

250) Ex.R. 35.30. Jellinek II 1-11, Vitae Mosis, cp. Wuensche I, p. 66, Jellinek IV 129-132, Wuensche I, p. 2.

251) cp. Rankin, Ch. IX.

252) cp. Ch. III of this essay.

253) Gen. R. 42.3, R. Aha, jSanh. 37a, R. Eleazar.

254) Abdimi of Haipha. Cp., however, the preceding discussions of this passage.

255) Luke 7.35; cp. Matth. 11.19 (variants).

256) Lev. R. 1.15.

257(jSanh. 36b; jMakk. 31d and parallels.

258) cp. Ch. IV.

259) Midr. Ps. 139, 1, #1, a late Midrash.

260) Bezalel; biblical intimation: Ex. 31.3, 35.31, 28.3. Targ. Onkelos 35.31; Ex. R. 35.30. Achitophel: jSanh. 29a, Samuel b. Isaac.

261) I Chron. 25.1-3, II 29-30, 35.15, 20.14ff., 9.11. Cp. LXX II Chron. 29.30 and I Chron. 25.5, προφήτης ὁ μακρονόμενος.

262) Midr. Ps. 24.1, #3, Pes. 117a, Baraitha.

263) as, e.g., in Ex. 14.31, 15.1, 15.20f, Jud. 5.12, etc. Enoch 71.11.

264) Enoch 61.11.

265) Tos. Yad. 2.14, Simon b. Manassia.

266) Gen. R. 85.2, R. Aha.

267) Enoch 71.11, Apoc. Abrah. 17, Asc. Is. 8.17, III Sib., 295, 489, V 263, Testament of Job 43, Enoch 90.14f., Ecclus. 39.6 cp. Didache 10.7, cp. Volz, Geist, p. 135.

268) cp. the preface to the Greek translation of Ecclesiasticus.

269) Prov. 22.17.

270) Abdimi of Haipha, BB 12a: אשלה נבואה מן הנביאים וניתנה לחכמי.

271) MIDR. PS. 105.16; SHAB. 119b.

CH. II

RABBINIC PIETISM AND ITS CONCEPTION OF PROPHECY

I

A fundamental part of Rabbinic thinking is devoted to a theologico-ethical explanation of all the great phenomena of this and the coming world. The course of history, the fate of Israel and the nations, the fate of the great figures of world and Jewish history as well as that of the individual, the future world, even the phenomena of cosmogony, cosmology and revelation were brought under a scheme of ethical considerations. This scheme, a pillar of Rabbinic thought, is that of reward or punishment according to man's merits. Even the most inexplicable and miraculous event is given didactic evaluation. No event is void of sense or of God's power of retribution. We could call this tendency the pan-ethicism of the Rabbis or, stressing more the feelings of the individual: Rabbinic pietism.

In Rabbinic pietism attempts have been made to explain biblical prophecy. The starting point is here the idea that prophecy is an immediate and prompt reward for pious and meritorious deeds to the prophet

as well as to the receiver of the prophetic message: viz., Israel. This idea has been varied to a certain degree and deprived of its rigour by the more general equation that the prophet embodies supreme piety and that, vice versa, supreme piety is prophecy. "The Holy Spirit so frequently comes only after a certain degree of ethical excellence has been attained. It does not come at random, erratically, unaccountably, a mysterious visitant totally inexplicable. It is the crowning stage of a series of uninterrupted strivings after the highest and the best" (1). This idea was also used in the medieval speculations on prophecy by many of the Jewish philosophers, above all by Maimonides. It is Philo's (2) doctrine as well as that of Origen (3). The latter says that the Holy Spirit is found only in those "who are turning to a better life".

The reception of the prophetic power can be the immediate result of a single good deed. Such deeds may range from the most trivial expressions of piety like Deborah's using of thick candles (4) to most decisive actions like Isaac's declaration of his willingness to be sacrificed (5) and Abraham's repelling of Satan (6). Other sources mention hospi-

tality (7), the public recitation of Torah (8), and the observance of the commandment to wear fringes (9). Others state that "all good things, blessings and consolations" ... which the prophets "saw" they received because "they set their minds to and performed righteous acts" (10), that the observance of a single commandment in faith makes man worthy of the Holy Spirit (11), or that according to his deeds the Holy Spirit rests upon man (12). Others state that the joy resulting from the observation of one pious deed leads to the acquisition of the prophetic faculty (13), and that the Holy Spirit rests on those "who are engaged in the performance of a good action" (14). Vice versa, the loss of the prophetic power occurs after any transgression on the part of the prophet (15).

In many sources particular stress is laid on the speed and promptness with which acquisition or loss of the prophetic faculty occur after a good deed or a transgression resp. (16). This feature is apt to make the ethical lesson more impressive (17). It is not impossible, however, that one of the remainders of a more mythological conception of prophetic inspiration, viz., the sudden, demon-like attack of the Holy Spirit, has been reinterpreted in this ethical teaching of the Midrash (18).

As a whole, however, more far-reaching and fundamental qualities are required to obtain prophetic power. Such qualities are righteous conduct (19), faithful service (20), sense of justice (21), charity (22), chastity (23), uprightness (24), fear of God (25), faith in God (26), and study, teaching and practice of the Law (27). A long chain of qualities, viz., zeal, cleanliness, purity, asceticism, holiness (a higher grade of asceticism), humility, fear of sin, and, finally, saintliness are the necessary steps leading to the Holy Spirit (28). Theologico-national considerations occur again. Love and respect for Israel are rewarded by the acquisition of the Holy Spirit (30). The readiness to self-sacrifice for Israel's sake leads to the reception of the prophetic gift (31). Elijah lost his prophecy, and Isaiah's mouth became the only vulnerable part of his body when these prophets slandered Israel (32). However, the qualities most frequently mentioned in connection with the Holy Spirit and prophecy are humility and modesty (33), whereas haughtiness, presumption and rage make prophecy disappear (34).

True repentance frequently turned sinners into prophets like the sons of Korah (35), the sons of Samuel (36), and Moses' grandson (37), and restored the lost power of the prophets who had sinned (38). Pagans who turned to Judaism were rewarded by the prophecy of their descendants or their own prophecy. The Midrash

enumerates a good number of prophets or priestly prophets who were supposed to have sprung from Rahab, the former pagan (38a): Hilkiah, Jeremiah, Seraiah, Mahseiah, Baruch, Neriah, Hanamel, Shallum, Huldah, Ezekiel, and Buzi. Similarly, the proselyte Ruth was the ancestress of six persons distinguished by spiritual gifts, viz., David, Daniel and his three companions, and the Messiah (39). She is called the ancestress of "kings and prophets" (40). Rahab and Ruth are side by side mentioned as proselytes in "Siphre Numeri" #78 (41). Another Midrash (41a) compares their descendants with one another, viz., Jeremiah and the Davidic king. Among the descendants of Jethro, the proselyte, were "prophets and righteous ones", just as among Rahab's (42) and Tamar's offspring (43), the latter both being prostitutes (44). Phinehas, Uriah, Jeremiah, and Ezekiel come from originally foreign families (45).

The proselyte can become a prophet himself. Obadiah, an Edomite (46), even Tamar, Rahab, Ruth, and Bath Shebah are said to have possessed the Holy Spirit for some time (47). With the exception of one passage in which Tamar and one of her descendants appear in an unfavourable light (48), all these sources unanimously declare these proselytes and their descendants as "saints". These passages, therefore, do not represent a devaluation

of prophecy, but are part of the tendency to glorify the righteous proselyte and the power of repentance and are apt to teach an ethical lesson, viz., that through repentance even the son of the prostitute may become a prophet. The Rahab tradition together with these other stories seem to have their origin in the classical time of Jewish proselytism and also to reflect a certain "democratic" tendency, characteristic of Pharisaic and Rabbinic thought. All these four female figures can be found in Jesus' genealogy in the first chapter of "Matthew" (49). Their mention there (50), the great spread and popularity of the anonymous Rahab tradition in the Midrash (51), and the great significance attached to proselytism in the pre-Christian and early Christian period in Judaism (52) makes Kuhn's opinion (53) of an early date of at least the Rahab tradition more plausible than Strack-Billerbeck's conjecture of its second century origin (54).

Not only personal merits, but also the merits of others can lead to prophecy. The descendants of the above-mentioned women were prophets partly on account of their ancestors' merits. Amram's merits (55) assisted Moses; Jonah received his first prophecy on account of the merit of his pious wife (56), and Huldah was a prophetess by merit of her husband Shallum (57).

The result of a scheme of thought as elaborate and precise as this is the appearance of stereotyped literary formulas, of a terminology indicating worthiness on the part of the prophets or of Israel. With a certain regularity we find the use of various derivatives of the root זכה (58), "to deserve, to be worthy", particularly the noun זכות (59), and also of שׂכר , "reward"; e.g., "with the merit of faith..... they became worthy (זכו), and the Holy Spirit rested on them" (60). The adjectives ראוי (61), זכאי (62) and כדאי or כדיי , "fit", are also frequently used in this connection (63). On the same level are the puns on Sarah's and Moses' by-names Yiskah and Abhi Sokho, which were believed to have been awarded to them to indicate their merits (64). The apocalyptic literature also mentions the ethical presuppositions of prophecy. Ezra has to be worthy in order to learn the mysteries (65).

In Rabbinic Judaism the belief in the significance of ritual purity maintains its great role beside this stream of ethical piety. The fulfilment of the divine will is an absolute requirement whether the command extends to ethical principles or to ritual purity (66). Prophecy was made an object also of the speculations of this trend of piety. At an unclean place,

in particular at a place where there are idols, prophecy cannot be obtained and the hypostazations of the divine word, presence, or spirit cannot dwell. For this reason, Moses was addressed only outside the Egyptian cities (67). Esther lost her Holy Spirit when she entered the royal throne chamber where there were idols (68). Similarly, David, when he was leprous on account of a sin, was deserted (69) by the shekhinah (70). Ahaz (71) or Uzziah (72) fled to an unclean place before Isaiah in order to escape the prophet's threatening predictions, for prophecy was believed possible only at a clean place (73), preferably at a place of clean water (74). This latter condition for prophecy is also known to Hellenistic sources (75).

As soon as Palestine had been chosen as the Holy Land prophecy was no longer possible abroad (76). Jonah had this fact in mind when he fled abroad (77). Some sources admit a few exceptions to this rule, which were granted on account of the special merits of some prophets or for certain extraordinary necessities (78). Although the reason for Palestine's privileged position is attributed to her holy character, the original idea instrumental in forming this tradition must have been the belief in her ritual purity (79). It seems that this idea of an exclusive, privileged

and ritually adequate locality for prophecy has been applied to Jerusalem, the Holy City "par excellence" (80). Special edicts tried to preserve Jerusalem's purity, as, e.g., the prohibition to raise poultry in the city; and miracles perpetuated the Temple's purity (81). The author of "Pirke Rabbi Eliezer" is thus obliged to explain the fact that Jeremiah received numerous prophecies outside the city (82). The Holy Rock, believed to be the centre of the earth, and connected with various mythological beliefs, was probably supposed to yield the Holy Spirit, which could be drawn there on the Feast of Tabernacles (83). In the Lukan scriptures the starting point of the Spirit is Jerusalem (84), and a prophet has to perish there (85).

The idea of ritual purity as a condition for the acquisition of the prophetic power undoubtedly shows atavistic features, viz., the belief in certain magic processes. Although in some sources the idea of the incompatibility of the "Divine Presence", i.e., prophecy, with the presence of idolatry is comparatively close to more ethical conceptions of prophecy (86), still in others the magic element is strong and almost undisguised. We find numerous parallels to this aspect of prophecy in contemporary Hellenistic sources (87).

The rigorous requirements of purity for the Pythia were famous (88). Josephus (89) refers to a related conception. He relates that the Jews, being considered unclean, were ordered to live in the province of Goshen, because the Egyptian king would otherwise have been unable to obtain visions.

Worthiness is a condition sine qua non not only for the bearer but also for the receiver of God's message, viz., Israel. In spite of the stern character of many of the prophetic announcements they were considered a special grace granted by God to a people which has certain merits or is within the sphere of God's grace.

Israel's merits caused Moses' prophecy (90) and all other revelations and prophecies (91). The merit which made Israel the recipients of prophecies was their fear of God (92). If Israel is worthy, Jeremiah's words will be God's words and, therefore, eternally valid (93). Only when Israel's life was meritorious, could the prophets speak (94). When Israel was sinning, Moses had to descend from Mt. Sinai (95). For the same reason, the Holy Spirit was denied to Baruch (96). According to "Ps. Philo" 54.4 the people said: "We are not worthy to be judged by a prophet .... therefore, we asked for a king". The belief in a progressive deteri-

oration of human piety, in a decline (97) of a "Golden Age" of human perfection, coloured the widely accepted doctrine that prophecy had come to an end owing to the transgressions and the unworthiness of Israel's later generations. A historical fact, viz., the end of classical prophecy was thus explained by ethical reasons, which simultaneously taught an impressive lesson and strove to incite the people to greater piety.

The date for the end of prophecy was variously given as:

the destruction of the First Temple (98),

the early period of the Second Temple, the time of Haggai, Zechariah and Malachi, the "last prophets" (99),

the time of Artaxerxes (100),

the period of Alexander the Great or of Simon the Righteous (101),

or of Ben Sirach (102).

Jeremiah is the last Jewish prophet for "Pirke Rabbi Eliezer" 116a and "Midrash Aggadah" on "Num." 30.11 - the prophecies of Haggai, Zechariah and Malachi being of minor rank -, Malachi for all other sources, and John the Baptist for Justin (103).

Comparatively early sources mention this doctrine of the end of genuine prophecy, such as "Lam." 2.9,

"Zechariah", Ch. 13, "LXX Dan." 3.38, "Ps." 74.9, "I Macc." 9.27, 4.46, 14.41, "John" 8.52, "II Baruch" 85.3, and "IV Ezra" 12.42. There is a very large number of Midrashim based on this teaching (104). The expression "children of the prophets", frequently granted to Israel in our sources (105), although a proud title of honour, also indicates the belief in the end of prophecy. Tannaitic teachers, when praised for their foresight and intelligent advice, refuse the title "prophet" and refer to tradition as the source of their wisdom (106).

The loss of genuine prophecy, or of the Holy Spirit, being the result of Israel's sin and unworthiness (107), even the great merits of pious individuals as Hillel, his pupils, and Samuel the Lesser (108) could not outweigh the consequences of Israel's transgressions. The heathen, who on account of their sinfulness had at one time (109) lost their prophecy to Israel, according to one opinion regained it now because of Israel's faults (110).

The Holy Spirit as a reward to the pious will be restored to Israel in messianic times (111). Verses from the third chapter (the end of the second chapter) of Joel, the pouring out of the spirit, are used to prove and illustrate eschatological prophecy

(112). Not only some individuals but the whole of Israel will then partake of prophetic inspiration, as once when Israel was free of sin, viz., during their stay in Egypt (113) and in the wilderness (114), but particularly and most conspicuously at the Red Sea. There, Israel had a prophetic vision of God and in prophetic inspiration sang the song "Ex." 15. 1-20 (115). "LXX Is." 42.1ff. and the third "Sibylline Book" 582f. and 781 seem to have considered Israel's missionary effort for monotheism as inspired. Justin, "Dial." Ch. 122, reports that the "Servant of God" in "Is." 42.1ff. was interpreted by the Jewish exegesis as speaking of Israel's mission among the heathen. But there are no clear proofs for the idea of Israel as a missionary prophet in the Rabbinic sources, this idea being more apt to arise in a Jewish centre of pagan environment.

II

The idea that prophecy is a reward for the pious is not very far from an identification of the prophets with the pious. Indeed, the prophet and the perfect righteous one, the "tsaddik", are synonymous in the opinion of a considerable number of texts (116).

צדיק is an appropriate title for a prophet (117). "Num. Rabba" 23 is quite explicit in this respect when it enumerates "prophets, pious, righteous and perfect ones" (118), and the "Revelation" speaks of "saints and prophets" (119).

It is, therefore, not surprising to find quite a number of passages in which the Holy Spirit, רוח הקדש , or rather the "Spirit of Holiness", does not mean so much the spirit of prophecy (120), but the spirit of righteousness or saintliness, the medium for a high degree of exalted piety of a spiritual character. There is a considerable number of passages in which this רוח הקדש exclusively (121) means pneumatic piety (122). "Tanhuma Vayehi" 14 declares that "whatever the righteous did, they did in the Holy Spirit". This thread of tradition goes back to biblical passages which use a complex term, composed of "Spirit" and "holy" or "holiness" to denote the phenomenon of spiritual piety (123). This term רוח הקדש denoting the spirit of piety would form a sound analogy to similar terms such as רוח חכמה (for the "pneuma" which causes wisdom) (124); the "Spirit of Understanding" (125); the "Spirit of Truth" (126); of purity (127); of uncleanliness (128); of strength (רוח גבורה) (129); and many more (130). The root קדש is frequently used to denote a human quality, viz., piety, fear of God, and chastity

(131). The "Spirit of Holiness" is the medium by which man acquires a high degree of piety and saintliness, and sometimes denotes the effluence and sphere around the pious one. The probability is that the equivocal and ambiguous biblical "Spirit of God", רוח אלהים, the origin of many pheumatic gifts, was replaced by the "Spirit of Holiness" denoting prophecy only after the identification of prophecy with righteousness had been fully developed. We have here one term for originally two different spiritual phenomena, viz., the spirit which makes the righteous one, and the spirit which makes the prophet. Since God was considered the originator of all spiritual gifts, such an identification could more easily take place. In the "Wisdom of Solomon", the "Spirit of Wisdom" and the "Holy Spirit" are likewise interchangeable. When the "Targum" intends to avoid ambiguity, it frequently uses the unequivocal term רוח נבואה for prophecy (132). The term רוח הקדש, when denoting piety, may adopt personal suffixes (133), but extremely rarely does so when denoting prophecy (134). The use and knowledge of "Holy Spirit" as the spirit of piety is also found in medieval Jewish sources (135). This spiritual gift, of course, did not cease with the end of prophecy (136).

Prayer is common to both pious one and pro-

phet. It is one of the pillars of Rabbinic piety, the substitute for the sacrifices in the Temple. In most cases a prayer is necessary to obtain the Holy Spirit. Apocalyptic and gnostic sources share this belief (137) and add other conditions, viz., fasting and abstinence (138). According to Philo(139) the translators of the Septuagint prayed for inspiration before their translation. In Midrashic sources, the suddenness of the Holy Spirit's arrival is interpreted as the sudden fulfilment of the accepted prayer or as the speed of the reward for a pious deed such as prayer and prostration (140). Apart from prayers for actual prophecy (141) we quite frequently find the prayer for the Holy Spirit in order to pronounce an efficacious blessing. Such a blessing was also, in a way, a type of prophecy. Such prayers were said by Jacob (142), Rebekah (143), by Joseph for Jacob (144), and by David when he desired to bless the Israelites (145). In the "Wisdom of Solomon" the king prays for wisdom and understanding in a similar fashion (146), and also the New Testament adopted the prayer for the Holy Spirit and for ecstasy (147). Moses' request for a vision of God, in "Ex." 33.12ff., and David's "Ps." 51.13 could serve as biblical examples for our sources.

III

In Rabbinic religion the ideal or highest type of the "saint" was the martyr. In the scale of merits martyrdom was the crowning top. The tragic fate of the nation and its religion heightened this attitude toward martyrdom (148) from the time of the Maccabean revolt (149) onwards through the Pharisaic movement and particularly in the fight against Rome. Rabbi Akiba, the martyr of the Bar Kokheba revolt, became the idealized saint of Rabbinic Judaism. Martyrdom was as in Christianity the great test of true piety, the consummation of a life of devotion, and the meritorious trial "par excellence" (150). The saints almost hoped for it (151). Since Socrates' famous end (152) martyrdom was considered as an ideal for the sage and the philosopher also in the Hellenistic world.

The perfect prophet, as the perfect saint, had, therefore, to be a martyr. The stories of some of the biblical prophets such as Micaiah, Uriah and Jeremiah strengthened this tendency, which finally seems to have succeeded in declaring most of the prophets martyrs. Some of the stories are known from Christian sources only. Whether they go back to lost Jewish

sources is difficult to decide, as both Judaism and Christianity show the same tendency. The latter had a host of martyrs from the very beginning, at the same time stressing the stubbornness and wickedness of the Jewish people in making martyrs of their own prophets. Surprisingly, the same characterization of the Jewish people is equally popular in Jewish sources (153).

Quite frequently we find the sweeping statement that all the prophets and righteous suffered persecution or martyrdom or, at least, contempt and mockery and incurred the people's wrath in the fulfilment of their mission (154). A popular midrashic theme is the failure of the people to respond to the prophets' entreaties for repentance. The post-exilic parts of the Old Testament have developed both the idea of the martyrdom of the prophets and of the failure of their mission to an almost stereotyped formula (155). The New Testament is rich in descriptions of the tragic fate of the prophets and righteous (156). Even the "Koran" contains allusions to the fate of the prophets (157). The opinion that a prophet is without honour "in his own country and in his own house" (158) sounds like a contemporary proverb (159). According to the Midrash the words of the prophets were disbelieved, their warnings disregarded, their messages "cast to the

ground" (160). In the opinion of the Midrash catastrophies as those in Egypt, Palestine, and Persia were more apt to force the Jewish people to repent than the efforts of all the prophets (161). The persecution of the prophets and the "sin against the Holy Spirit" were considered reasons for the destruction of Jerusalem (162).

The Midrash mentions the stories of the biblical martyr-prophets quite frequently (163). Some of these stories became very popular in an elaborated and legendary form, particularly those centering around Zechariah, the priest-prophet (164). "Matth." 23.35 and "IV Macc." 18.11ff. seem to count Abel among the martyr prophets.

But there is a number of martyrs whose deaths the biblical writings do not mention. Moses was killed according to Origen (165); in Jewish sources, however, he was like his brother Aaron (166) merely attacked, persecuted, disbelieved and mocked (167).

Hur (168) died a martyr; and according to one ~~single~~ source (169) Shemaiah and Achaiah suffered the same fate. The martyrdom of Amos (170) and Ezekiel (171) is found in Christian sources only. Their mention in Yachya's "Shalsheleth hakkabbalah" 97, is based on the Christian tradition, as Ginzberg plausibly

asserts (172), but the acceptance of such a tradition proves its compatibility with the Jewish view. In Jewish tradition Amos and also Micha, identified with Micaiah of the "Book of Kings", are persecuted and ridiculed (173), whereas the latter (174) as well as Joel (175) and Habakkuk (176) are martyrs in Christian tradition. Best known in both Jewish and Christian literature is Isaiah's martyrdom, framed by an elaborate legend (177). Jeremiah is a martyr in Christian tradition (178), but also in some Jewish opinions (179). He (180), Jonah (181), Obadiah (182), Isaiah (183), and Jeremiah's father (184) in the Jewish and Nahum in the Christian belief (185) were supposed to have undergone various trials and persecutions.

The Midrash sometimes stresses the readiness of the prophets to sacrifice themselves for the benefit of Israel (186), and emphasizes their actual vicarious sufferings, particularly in the case of Moses (187), Hur (188), Micaiah's companion (189), and Ezekiel (190). These sufferings, however, are not in every case martyrdom (191).

In spite of the great significance of martyrdom there is no proper term to denote the martyr (192). עד , "witness", is only used occasionally in midrashic quotations of "II Chr." 24.19, "Neh." 9.26 and similar

passages (193). μάρτυς in Jewish sources is not frequent and not necessarily a religious term (194). Martyrdom, however, is called מות קדוש and used occasionally, a fact of which Kittel's "Theologisches Woerterbuch", IV, p. 491, shows no knowledge whatever (195).

The prophets as the truly righteous display a number of qualities which are desirable and to be striven for by all the righteous. They are ideal patterns for human behaviour. The preachers seem to have liked to build their sermons around what they believed to be the human qualities and examples of the prophets. Moses had, e.g., to ponder between the different paragraphs of the Law before making a decision, and Samuel had to fear the Last Judgment, "how much more so an ordinary man", a הדיוט (ἰδιώτης), or "the rest of men" (196). The prophets were courageous and upright characters (197); they were honest, loved the truth, and refrained from flattering man and even God (198). A favourite subject of the preachers was to show that the prophets behaved like ordinary men, i.e., observed the customs of their countrymen, thus endowing the simple ways of life with the glory of religious sanction. The prophets concluded their words with praise and comfort and departed, like Elijah and Elisha with words of Torah;

consequently, man has to depart in a similar way (199). The prophets occupied themselves with work (200), thus enhancing the great dignity of labour. They started and concluded their travelling during day-time according to the habit of the people; in a word, "they observed the way of the country", נהגו דרך ארץ , i.e., respected the customs of ordinary man and were thoroughly human beings (201).

IV

Piety of a different type, centering around the splendour and holiness of the Temple, around the sacrificial ritual with its great expiating power and its national significance, has also been part of Rabbinic religion. The world of the Temple was not outside of the confines of the Law in spite of social, political, and occasionally theological controversies between their main representatives; the participation in the sacrifices was another source of merit. After the destruction of the Temple the laws concerning the ritual of offerings and the construction and administration of the Temple were not discarded, but were considered still valid and were subject to discussion and instruction in the schools.

Other pious deeds officially took the place of the offerings.

It is a very ancient idea, found in many religions, that the place of offerings is close to the godhead and, therefore, appropriate for the receiving of prophetic visions and oracles, as Jacob's dream and Samuel's experience in Eli's sanctuary show (202). The priest is the seer and the receiver of oracles. Rabbinic religion and other contemporary sources show that this idea was current in Judaism even of that late period. No contradiction was felt between prophetic religion and sacrificial religion. The prophet might be a priest. As the great righteous man he could not oppose or be detached from the sanctuary in Jerusalem. The Temple as the seat of the shekhinah could not be void of the Holy Spirit.

A considerable number of prophets, some in accordance with the biblical account, were considered priests. Eight, ten or eleven prophets, Rahab's descendants, were of priestly rank (203). Jeremiah's priesthood is mentioned, e.g., in "Pessikta d'Rabh Kahana" #4, end. Amaziah, the priest, was identified with a prophet (204). In many instances prophets were considered to have been High Priests, as, e.g., Moses, who was permanently or temporarily High Priest (205), Elijah, of priestly extract and identified with Phinehas

(206), Shem-Melchizedek (207), Abraham (208), Zechariah (209), Ezra (210), and especially Adam (211). Adam handed his high-priestly robe over to Seth, Seth to Methuselah, the latter to Shem-Melchizedek, and Shem to the patriarchs (212). Moses and Jesus also received this robe (213). Samuel, although not of priestly descent, was specially permitted to perform priestly functions (214).

The tradition of Adam as a High Priest is of gnostic character, Adam being invested with unusual importance, honour and glory by gnostic speculation (215). For the gnostics the high-priestly robe is a symbol for the cosmos (216). Gnostic and Hellenistic literary traditions seem to combine the powers of the prophet, priest and king and endow their heroes with all these titles (217). It was a scheme which corresponded often enough to reality as shown especially in John Hyrkanus' case and by examples quoted in Cicero (218). John Hyrkanus' threefold dignities are described in "Testament of Levi" 8 and by Josephus (219). Rabbinic texts also try to concentrate these dignities in one person. The Rabbinic and also gnostic redeemers Adam, Moses, Elijah, and the Messiah or Jesus are kings, prophets and High Priests in one person (220). Joshua seems to be prophet, king, priest and judge (221). Adam possesses "five crowns": kingship, priesthood, prophecy,

radiance of face, and Torah (222). Zechariah becomes presumptuous being priest, prophet, judge, and of royal origin (223). Moses' three dignities, occasionally increased to four, are also stressed by Philo (224). Samuel is the greatest of kings and prophets in "de ebrietate" 34. Rabbi Isaac in "Pessikta d'Rabh Kahana" #28 laments the loss of "kings, prophets, priests, and oracles".

Popular religion is readily apt to enhance every dignitary with still more glory; and gnostic tendencies are frequently retrogressive in the use of their materials. Also the official religion of the Rabbis seems to have accepted the idea of a close connection between priesthood and the Holy Spirit. In some opinions this connection between priest and prophet, however, is believed to be more profound. It is not only an accumulation of privileges or functions in one sublime person, a mere superficial "personal union", but the true priest is a prophet on account of his priestly qualities. Philo and Josephus adhere to this belief (225). It is difficult to decide whether Josephus tried to use the concepts of his Roman audience, or, rather, interpreted Palestinian beliefs.

In the biblical account prophets busy themselves with the erection of the Temple, particularly with the construction of the "Second House". In the

opinion of the Midrash they are connected with the legislation concerning the offerings (226) and take an active part in the sacrificial rites (227). There are traces of the belief that the Holy Spirit was permanently resting on all the High Priests and was a standing feature of the Temple.

The holy oracles, the "urim vetummim" (אורים ותומים), worked together with the High Priest's simultaneous inspiration (228) by the Holy Spirit (229). Although the Holy Spirit seems to have been introduced here to sanction the coincidental decision of oracles and to justify their use, which was possibly considered a foreign custom, this co-operation between Holy Spirit and oracle presupposes a belief in the possibility of a union of priesthood and prophecy. Another frequently quoted Midrash speaks of five "things" which the "First Temple" possessed and the "Second House" lacked; the (heavenly) fire (on the altar), the Ark (of the Covenant), the oracles, the oil for anointing, and the Holy Spirit (230). The character of the first four items suggests that the expression "First Temple" does not denote the pre-exilic period as it is sometimes the case, but the locality of the Temple. This interpretation is confirmed by a Midrash which relates that with the erection of the Holy Tabernacle the Holy Spirit was taken from the

Gentiles and given to Israel, the sanctuary being believed to be the seat of the Holy Spirit (231). In theory, the presence of the king, of prophets, the oracles, and the highest court, the Sanhedrin, was required for certain fundamental decisions (232), the underlying idea being probably the expectation that some of the members of the Sanhedrin or the operators of the oracles were prophets. Many or all the High Priests of the Second Temple seem to have been considered prophets. Apart from the prophetic foresight of Jaddua (233), Simon the Righteous (234), and John Hyrkanus (235), the Holy Spirit is ascribed to the High Priest in "Eccl. Rabba" 10.15 and "Pessikta d'Rabh Kahana" 178a. Passages such as "John" 11.51 and "Luke" 1.5ff. confirm the existence of a popular belief in the prophetic power of priests and High Priests (236). "Ps.-Epiphanius, Greek version A, p. 106, speaks of the apparitions of angels to the High Priests which came to an end after Zechariah had been murdered. In the "Didache", the wandering Christian prophets are called "High Priests" (237). Although most of these sources are later than the fall of the Second Temple in the year 70 A.D., they undoubtedly reflect earlier traditions.

Results

Rabbinic pietism, which had to bring the phenomena of world and history into the scheme of an ethical explanation, viz., of merit and reward or sin and punishment resp., presents the idea of ethical conditions for the acquisition of prophecy on the part of the bearer of the prophecy as well a on the part of the addressee: sin causes the loss of prophecy; merit, its acquisition. The ethical qualities leading to prophecy are analyzed by the Midrash. Ritual purity is one of these. Here, more ancient ideas of sometimes magic character are still traceable.

Israel's unworthiness is the explanation for the loss of prophecy. Various dates are assigned to this event, varying from the destruction of the First Temple to Alexander the Great or "Ecclesiasticus". Prophecy will be restored as a reward to all the pious in messianic times.

Rabbinic pietism went even further by identifying pious and prophets; the נביא is the righteous one "par excellence", and the saint a prophet. In this connection the Midrash retained an older conception of the Holy Spirit, viz., as the medium for pneumatic piety. The

prayer of the pious lead to prophecy.

There was a strong tendency to declare all the prophets martyrs or, at least, persecuted and failures, the martyr being the highest type of the saint in our period. Some prophets endured vicarious sufferings for Israel.

The prophets were patterns for human behaviour as to their piety and their observance of the simple ways of life.

Sacrificial piety centering around the cult and splendour of the Temple was one of the constituents of Rabbinic piety. No contradiction was felt between the world of prophecy and the sphere of priesthood. Older traditions endow the priests and High Priests with prophetic gifts and change many prophets into priests. The combination of three or four dignities, of priesthood, kingship, prophecy, and (or) the judicial power, is part of gnostic, Hellenistic and Rabbinic traditions. Prophecy is believed to have been connected with the Jerusalem Temple in various ways.

NOTES

1) Abelson, p. 243.

2) Quis rer. div. her. 259f.

3) Origen, de principiis, I 3.5.

4) Lam. R. 10.

5) Tanhuma Vayero 23.

6) ibid.

7) Cant. R. 2.5, R. Meir.

8) Cant. R. 1.1, R. Judan; example: Solomon.

9) Sanh. 39b, R. Isaac; example: Obadiah; Men. 43b, R. Simon b. Yochai.

10) Eccl. R. on 1.8 (2.5). A. Cohen's translation in Midrash Rabba, London, 1939: "they meditated and performed", אורג'ין ועושין , is somewhat misleading.

11) Mekh. on Ex. 14.31.

12) SER 10, p. 48 and Yalk. Shim. Jud. 4.4.

13) Pes. 117a.

14) de princ. I 3.5.

15) Ps.-Philo 18.11, concerning Balaam; Gen. R. 65.4-10; Gen. R. 16; MRSJ, p. 114.

16) The word מיד, "at once", is used in this connection. Tanh. Vayero 23; Cant. R. 1.1 (twice).

17) Tanh. Vayero 23.

18) cp. Ch. I.

19) IV Ezra 10.38ff., 10.50.

20) Num. R. 12.9: Joshua, Elijah and potentially Baruch, Mekh. on 12.1.

21) Ex. R. 1.

22) Midr. Ps. 17.34, #14.

23) Sotah 10b, Meg. 10b; R. Jochanan.

24) Midr. Ps. 25.14, #13.

25) Mekh. 20.19; Gen. R. 49; Midr. Ps. 25.14, #13.

26) Mekh. on Ex. 15.

27) IV Ezra 14.54; Shab. 56b, Lev. R. 12.5, etc.

28) קדושה, חסידות, יראת חטא, תורות, פרישות, טהרה, נקיות, ענוה. R. Phinehas b. Yair, Mi. Sotah, 9.15, cp. Ch. III.

30) IV Ezra 10.38f., 10.50; Mekh. 12.1 (Jeremiah).

31) Ex. R. 5.20 parallel S Num. #92 parallel Sifre Zuta 200, etc.

32) Mekh. 12.1. On Isaiah's martyrdom cp. below.

33) Ps. Jerome on I Sam. 10.6, quoted as a Jewish tradition on Saul; Mekh. 20.21: as a general rule; Tos. Sotah 13.3; S Num. 11.26, #95, on Eldad and Medad; on the choice of the low and modest Mt. Sinai cp. Ginzberg Vi, p. 31, n. 183; Ab. Zarah 20b: principal discussion.

34) Pes. 66b, R. Judah, Resh Lakish; Tanhuma Bereshith 1: on Moses; Sotah 42b: general rules; Mekh. on 20.21, Gen. R. 60.3: on Phinehas; Midr. Samuel #14, 44b, R. Levi: on Samuel.

35) Midr. Ps. 44.1, #5.

36) Num. R. 10.5, Ruth R. 2.1, etc.

37) jBer. 13d, jSanh. 30bf., Cant. R. 2.5.

38) Yalk. Shim. II Sam. 22, quoting Tanna debe Elijahu 2: on David.

38a) S Num. 10.29, #78, parallel Meg. 14b, parallel Ruth R. 2. Many variants and related reports. In these Midrashim, Rahab's prophetic descendants range from eight to eleven.

39) Ruth R. 3.14; Sanh. 93b; Targum Ruth 3.15, etc. Some of these sources include Josiah.

40) Shab. 113b; Ruth R. 2.14, Z. 51. David, Solomon, Hezekiah and Josiah are her most prominent descendants.

41) cp. also S Deut. #357 and Midr. Tann., p. 206.

41a) PRK 111b, Abba b. Kahana.

42) PR 167b, R. Alexandrai, 3rd cent.

43) Hor. 10b, Ulla.

44) Rahab is almost always distinguished by the surname ✶ הזונה ✶.

45) sic PRK 115a; var.: "low".

46) Sanh. 39b, R. Meir. 47) cp. Appendix I.

48) viz., Zimri. Naz. 23b; Ulla.

49) l.3, 5, 6.

50) Matthew seems to allude to their glorification rather than to the teaching that sin can lead to the fulfilment of the divine plan.

51) details of this story are ascribed to authorities flourising between 150 and 250 A.D.

52) cp. J. Jeremias' Jerusalem. III, p. 164. A. v. Harnack: The Mission and Expansion of Christianity in the First Three Centuries, 2nd ed., London, 1908. W.G. Braude, Jewish Proselyting in the First Five Centuries, Providence, 1940; B. Bamberger, Proselytism in the Talmudic Period, Cincinnati, 1939.

53) Sifre, ibid.

54) On Jesus' genealogy, Matth. Ch. 1.

55) MRSJ, p. 3. 56) jSanh. 55a.

57) PRE 33.

58) Mekh. 14.31; jSanh. 30b, etc. (Tann.); Lev. R. 35.7; S Deut. #176.

59) Sifra 115d; Mekh. 12.1, 20.19, etc.

60) MRSJ, p. 55 cp. Mekh. 14.31. Another example: S Deut. #176.

61) jSotah 24b; Tos. Sotah 13.2-4; Sukkah 28b.

62)Tos. Sotah, ibid.

63) jSotah 24b; Sifra 115d; S Num. #95; Mekh. 14.31.

64) Sed. Ol. 2; Lev. R. 1.3.

65) IV Ezra 10.38f., 10.50, 12.36.

66) However, at times, ritual and other non-ethical commands are explained by ethical reasons in the Midrash.

67) Mekh. 12.1.

68) Meg. 15af., Yalk. Esth. 5.2.

69) Sanh. 107b, Yoma 22b; Rabh.

70) cp. Ch. III.

71) jSanh. 27b; Eleazar and Jos. b. Levi.

72) Lev. R. 36.3. 73) Mekh. 12.1.

74) ibid.; cp. biblical parallels in Ezekiel.

75) cp. Pauly-Wissowa XIV.1, 1266.

76) Mekh. 12.1; M. Kat. 25a. Abba. Hisda.

77) Mekh. 12.1.

78) Mekh., ibid. M. Kat. 25a. At clean places of water only.

79) but here the condition of the "clean place of water" also obtains (Mekh. 12.1).

80) on the Temple as the seat of the Holy Spirit cp. below.

81) Mi. Abhoth 5.5.

82) author: Benjamin b. Levi, cp. Bacher, Amoraeer III, n. 664.

83) jSukkah 55a, PR 1b, etc. cp. J. Jeremias, Golgotha und der hl. Felsen, Angelos II, 1926, pp. 74-128.

84) Acts 1.8 and Lk. 24.44ff.

85) Lk. 13.33.

86) 3 Enoch and Testament of Solomon speak of idol-worship, not of the mere presence of idols.

87) cp. Nock, pp. 72, 109f.

88) Plutarch, de Pythiae oraculis 22.

89) c.Ap. I 26.

90) זכות ישראל תרומה , Sifra 115d.

91) S Deut. #176.

92) cp. Deut. 18.16-18 and S Deut. on these passages.

93) PRK 13, 116a.

94) Mekh. 12.1. R. Akiba and Simon b. Azzai.

95) Ber. 32a. 96) Mekh. 12.1.

97) cp. all the talmudic material based on the ninth chapter of the Mishna and the 13th chapter of Tosefta Sotah. Cp. also jYoma 30b, jSotah 24a, 45b.

98)BB 12a and b; Abdimi of Haifa, R. Jochanan; and Tanhuma Behaalothekha 6 and B 50; Num. R. 15.9; Eccl. R. 12.6; Lam. R. Introduction 23, R. Jos. b. Levi. Other material based on the same opinion: MRSJ, p. 114, jTaan. 65a; Yoma 21b; Eccl. R. 12.7, etc.

99) Tos. Sotah 13.2-4, jSotah 24c; BB 14b; PRK 87a; Sanh. 11a, Cant. R. 8, Sukkah 48a, Yoma 9bf., Ber. 4a.

100) c. Ap. I 8. Cp. Aicher, p. 12.

101) Yoma 69b; Sed. Ol. 30. 102) Tos. Yad. 2.13.

103) Dial. 49.3,4.

104) Gen. R. 37.7; Lam. R., Introduction 1 and 7; Lam. R. 2.9; Midr. Ps. 3.6, #7, 74.9, #3; Agg. Ber. #23, p. 47; Ruth R. 5; Ex. R. 32.1; 23.20.

105) Tobith 4.12; Tos. Pes. 4.8, Pes. 56b, j Shab. 17a, etc. Matth. 21.16.

106) Yeb. 121b, Chanina b. Dosa; Sifra 45c; jSheb. 36c, etc. (Eliezer), Midr. Ps. 1.3, #19, Eleazar b. Arach.

107) Sotah 48b; Sukkah 28a; Agg. Ber. #23, p. 47; MRSJ, p. 114; Lam. R. 2.2 on 2.3; S Deut. #173; Tos. Sotah 13.3f.; 14.3; Tanhuma Lekh Lekha 6.

108) Tos. Sotah 13.2-4 and parallels Palestinian Talmud Sotah; bSotah 48b; BB 134a; Sukkah 28a.

109) Num. R. 20.1, etc. 110) Lam. R. 2.2.

111) Lam. R. 2.2. Midr. Ps. 3.6, #7.

112) Midr. Ps. 14.6, #6; Num. R. 15.25, Tanhuma Behaalothekha 16 (Tanhum b. Abba); ibid., B 28 (anon.) and Lev. R. 2.1, similar: Tanh. B Mikets 4 end; Cant. Z. 4.15; Sib. III, 582ff.; Midr. Ps. 72.14, #4 uses Joel 4.18 for this doctrine (Simon the Righteous!?). Targum Ps. 22.17; Lam. R. 2.2; Targum Cant. 1.1 cp. Midr. Z. 1.1; 2 Bar. 57.8; probably Test. of Levi 18.11 and the Zadokite Fragment 2.10; Sib. V, 426f.; Jub. 1.21, 23, 28; Agg. Ber. cp. n. 107; 68, p. 134; Midr. Ps. 4.7, #6. Is. 40.5 and Num. 11.26-29 are also favourite proof-texts for eschatological prophecy.

113) Mekh. 12.36, MRSJ, pp. 25-26; Eliezer b. Jacob.

114) MRSJ 6f., on 12.1.

115) Mekh. 12.36, 14.12, 31; 15.9, 17; Pes. 117a, Samuel; MRSJ, p. 46.

116) Mekh. 14.24; PR 167b; PRK #2, R. Judan; Cant. R. 1.4; 3.6; 7.13; Gen. R. 49; 68.12 (Levi); 77; Lev. R. 28; Deut. R. 10; jSanh. 30b, Simon b. Jochai; Midr. Prov. on 14.1; Philo, Quis rer. div. her. 259f.

117) Midr. Ps. 1.4; Lev. R. 27.4, Eliezer b. Chalafta; Gen. R. 52.5, Eleazar b. Menachem. Joseph's epithet in the Midrash is הצדיק, cp. Ginzberg V, p. 324, n. 3.

118) אנשי כנסת הגדולה, חסידים, ישרים, תמימים

119) 16.6 cp. 18.24 and Matth. 23.29.

120) cp. Ch. III.

121) I disagree here with Strack-Billerbeck's view advanced in II p. 126.

122) Zadokite Fragment (from Damascus): II 12, V 11, VII 4; Jub. 1.21, 23; Lk. 11.2, var. in MSS: ἐλθάτω τὸ ἅγιον πνεῦμα σου ἐφ' ἡμᾶς καὶ καθαρίσάθω ἡμᾶς; Hermas 7.2, Test. of Naphtali 10.8f., Test. of Benj. 4, C Beta 5.1 cp. A; probably S Deut. #173, Eleazar, and Sanh. 65b (R. Akiba), where the Holy Spirit is contrasted with the Spirit of Impurity and Sin. Jerachmeel 10 end; jTargum Gen. 6.3.

123) Is. 11.1-2, 28.6, 32.15ff., Ez. 36.27, Is. 63.10, 11, Zech. 12.10, Ps. 51.13, 143.10.

124) Very common in the Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha. Biblical: e.g., Deut. 34.9, Num. 11.25ff., Is. 11.2, Neh. 9.20, etc.

125) Ecclesiasticus 39.6, 9; Test. of Levi 2.3.

126) Jub. 25.13; (var. (C): "Holy Spirit") πνεῦμα τῆς ἁγιωσύνης, cp. John 14.17, 15.26 and 16.13.

127) Midr. Tann., p. 110, רוח טהרה.

128) רוח טומאה, ibid., and Sanh. 65b.

129) Targum I Sam. 11.6, 16.14, I Chr. 12.18, etc. Cp. Targum Is. 63.10, where "Spirit of Holiness" would have been more appropriate.

130) Seven pneumata borrowed from stoic conceptions in Test. of Reuben, passim.

131) cp. the special chapter devoted to this topic in Buechler's Piety.

132) j Targum Num. 11.17; Targum Num. 24.2; I Sam. 10.6; 16.13; 19.20, 23, etc., Is. 11.2. In some cases: "the Spirit of Prophecy From God".

133) cp. the Damascene fragments, 5.11: את רוח קדשיהם, cp. 7.4. Targum Ps. 143.10, jTargum Gen. 6.3, etc.

134) so Targum Is. 40.1ff.

135) Menorath ha Maor IV 525, 17-18. In the framing prayers for supplications on the fast-days, etc.: אל תקח רוח קדשי (Prayer Book), cp. Ps. 51.11.

136) cp. also SER 10, where the Holy Spirit may be the spirit of piety rather than prophecy.

137) IV Ezra 14.22; R. Simon b. Yochai's prayer, Jellinek IV, 117-26; Jub. 25.13; Book of Raziel, beginning (Adam); Poimandres, cp. Dodd, p. 101; cp. the text quoted by Nock, p. 88 from the Greek papyrus Oxyr., 2nd cent.

138) cp. Ch. IV.

139) de vita Mosis II 37-41.

140) esp. PR 12a, Tanh. Vayehi 6, Joshua praying; cp. R. Simon b. Yochai's prayer, cp. n. 137.

141) Midr. Ps. 40.3, #2: David. It is the aim of a great number of prayers said by the prophets to obtain the Holy Spirit, cp. Ginzberg, Index, s.v., prayer.

142) PR 11a, Aha; 12a.

143) Jub. 25.13.

144) Tanh. Vayehi 6.

145) Midr. Ps. 1.1, #1.

146) 7.7; 8 end.

147) Lk. 11.13, Acts 4.31, 8.15, 10.9f., 11.5, 22.17.

148) cp. Bousset, p. 374.

149) cp. the role of martyrs in the books of the Maccabees and in Daniel, esp. 12.3. Daniel and his companions, Esther and Judith are virtual martyrs.

150) cp. Kittel, Woerterbuch IV, p. 491.

151) cp. the legends on martyrs in Jellinek's collection and Nock, p. 298.

152) cp. Nock, p. 193ff.

153) PR 125b, Lev. R. 13.2, Judan b. Simon, about 320. Cp. Ex. R. 7; Tanh. Vayikra 8. Cp. the popularity of the Zechariah legend, below.

154) Cp. 156a).

155) Dan. 9.6, 10, II Chr. 15.1, 8; 24.19; 36.14ff; Neh. 9.26, 30.32; Lam. 2.20, 4.16; Jer. 7.25, 25.4ff.; cp. also the "deuteronomic" parts in the Books of Kings, e.g., II 17.13f. Bar. 1.21, 2.20, 24; IV Ezra 7.130, 8.79.

156) Matth. 23.3 ff., 5.10-12 and Lk. 13.33; Acts 7.51ff.; I Thess. 2.15, Hebr. 11.36ff., James 5.10.

156a) Jub. 1.12. Tanh. Mishpotim 12; Tanh. Tazria B 13; PRK 125a; Lev. R. 12.3, cp. Ex. R. 7; Lam. R. 4.13, etc. MRSJ, p. 114.

157) 2:81, 85.

158) Matth. 13.57 cp. Lk. 4.24.

159) a remote parallel in jTaan. 68a, cp. Strack-Billerbeck I, p. 678.

160) Lam. R. Introd. 24, R. Jochanan or anon.; 31, R. Simon b. Yochai or anon.; Sed. Ol. 24; PR 153b; PR 138bf.

161) Meg. 14a, Abba b. Kahana, Lam. R. 4.22 (cp. PRK 14, R. Levi), Jochanan, Simon b. Lakish and the Rabbis.

162) Ex. R. 31, R. Meir; PRK 14, R. Levi.

163) e.g., Uriah's death (I Ki. 19.10, Jer. 26.20ff.): S Num. #88; Sed. Ol. 24; M. Kat. 26a; Lam. R. Introd. 27 and 1.43.

164) jTaan. 69a, Jochanan; Gittin 57b, Jos. b. Korcha; Sanh. 96b; PRK 122a; Eccl. R. 3.16, 10.4; Lam. R. Introd. 23, and 2.20, 2.2 and 4.13, Targum II Chr. 24.20ff., Midr. Agg. Num. 30.15; Josephus, Ant. IX 8.3; cp. Strack-Billerbeck I, p. 940ff.; cp. the table of identifications, Ch. V, end.

165) In Matth. 10.18.

166) Ex. R. 7.

167) Yalk. Shim. Is. 1.5; PRK 112a and Midr. Tann. p. 111. Ex. R. 7.

168) Sanh. 6b, Eleazar; Num. R. 9; PR 111a; Midr. Agg. 30.15, Num.

169) Midr. Agg. Num. 30.15.

170) Epiph. pp. 38, 52; cp. Ginzberg VI 357, n. 28.

171) Epiph. p. 92; Acts of Phillipus, cp. Schermann ibid.; Visio Pauli 49, Origen, In Matth. 10.18.

172) ibid.

173) PRK 125a; Eccl. R. 1.1, R. Phinehas.

174) Epiph. pp. 29 and 61; Acts of Phillipus, Wright, Apocryphal Acts of the Apostles, p. 85f.

175) possibly a mix-up with Amos according to Schermann, p. 51.

176) Epiph., pp. 123, 130, possibly based on II Ki. 4.16. I am unable to find any proof for Schermann's contention that Habakkuk's suffering is Rabbinic tradition.

177) Asc. Is.; Yeb. 49b: R. Simon b. Azzai finds the account of Isaiah's death on a genealogical roll; Sanhl 103b; jSanh. 28c; Tos. Targum Is. 66.1; II Ki. 27.16; PR 4.14; cp. Hebr. 11.37; Josephus, Ant. X 3.7; Origen, In Matth. 10.18.; Justin, Dial. 120; Epiphanius p. 80; Jerome on Is. 1.10, etc.

178) Acts of Phillipus, p. 83, Epiph. p. 124.

179) Midr. Agg. Num. 30.15; Rest of Words 9.

180) Eupolemos 454bf.; PR 115b, 129af., PRK 11bf.; Midr. Prov. 1.48, etc.

181) was called a false prophet, PRE 10; Tanh. Vayikra 8, etc.

182) Agg. Ber. #14, p. 32; cp. table of indentifications, Ch. V, end.

183) Tanh. Vayikra B 13; PRK 128b; Is. 50.4ff. were considered as speaking of Isaiah's trials, cp. PRK 125b; Lev. R. 13.2, Judan b. Simon.

184) Gen. R. 64.5, Marines b. Hoshaiah.

185) cp. Epiph., Nahum, one Latin version.

186) PRK 125b; PR 111a. 187) PR 111a.

188) ibid.

189) jSanh. 30b, Sanh. 98af., Simon b. Yochai.

190) Sanh. 29a.

191) Mekh. 12.1, R. Jonathan; Ex. R. 21, Chama b. Chanina; Ber. 32a, R. Ismael.

192) cp. Kittel, Theologisches Woerterbuch IV, p. 490.

193) Lam. R. on 2.13, etc. 194) Kittel, ibid., p. 491f.

195) jj Sheb. 35a; PRK 87a; j Sanh. 23d.

196) Sifra 3c; Tanh. Emor 2, B 4.

197) Seven examples in Midr. Tann., p. 111.

198) jBer. 11c, R. Isaac b. Eleazar.

199) Tos. Ber. 3.21, j Ber. 8d, Ber. 31a; Cp. the idea of the introduction of the "Peace" salute by the prophets, Ch. I.

200) Gadhol ugedholah, Ginzberg V, p. 414, n. 109.

201) Mekh. 12.22.

202) on prophecy by incubation cp. Pauly-Wissowa XIV.1, s.v. "Mantike".

203) S Num. #78; Meg. 14b; Ruth R. 2, anon. and R. Judah.

204) cp. the table of identifications, Ch. V, end.

205) Zeb. 101b; Pes. 38a; Lev. R. 11.6, etc. Taan. 11b; PRK 38a; Philo, "de vita Mosis" #2, 187 and 292. Cp. Ps. 99.6.

206) Cp. Murmelstein, p. 289; Strack-Billerbeck, IV, p. 781ff.

207) table of identifications, Ch. V, end.

208) Gen. R. 46, R. Ismael. 209) cp. above.

210) Cant. R. 5.5, Eccl. R. 1.4.

211) Num. R. 4.8, Gen. R. 63.13, Tanh. Toldoth B 12, Agg. Ber. 43.1.

212) Num. R. 4.8 cp. Gen. R. 63.13.

213) The former: Taan. 11b, R. Kahana; the latter: John 19.23.

214) Ecclesiasticus 46.11; jMeg. 72c, Midr. Sam. #13, p. 83, Lev. R. 22.9, etc.

215) cp. Ch. IV.

216) cp. Staerk, Erloesungserwartung.

217) cp. Reitzenstein, Poimandres, p. 175, examples for the cult of Hermes Trismegistos.

218) de divinatione, #40 and 41. Further examples: Halliday, pp. 67-69.

219) cp. jSotah 24b, Cant. R. 8.10.

220) Murmelstein, pp. 279-289.

221) Moses' Death, Jellinek I, pp. 115-29; Wuensche, Lehrhallen I, p. 148. On Moses also Ex. R. 25.9, R. Huna.

222) Unknown Midrash in Shu'aib, Ki Tissa 39c, quoted by Ginzberg V, p. 78, n. 21.

223) Lam. R. Introd. 23 and parallels.

224) de vita Mosis, #2, 187 and 292; de praemiis et poenis I, end, III, beginning; four dignities: II, beginning and III, 23.

225) de spec. leg. IV 192; Bell. 8.3.

226) jSanh. 19b, R. Jochanan, cp. Ch. I.

227) e.g., Jonah, jSukkah 55a, R. Jonah, about 350.

228) Yoma 73af., jYoma 44c.

229) On this co-operation between oracles or lots and the Holy Spirit cp. Ch. V.

230) R. Aha, jTaan. 65a, j Makk. 32a, Yoma 21b, etc.

231) Cant. R. 2.3.

232) Mi. Sheb. 2.2, etc.

233) God appeared to him in a prophetic dream after a sacrifice. Bell. XI, 8.4.

234) Sotah 33a, Yoma 39b, Cant. R. 8.10.

235) cp. above.

236) cp. J. Jeremias, "Jerusalem .... " II, p. 5.

237) 13.3. The comparison seems not to be based only on their receiving the first fruit.

CH. III

RABBINIC RATIONALISM AND ITS CONCEPTION OF PROPHECY (1)

THE SYSTEMATIZATION AND CLASSIFICATION OF TRADITIONAL MATERIAL AND THE ATTEMPTS AT A RATIONALISTIC CRITICISM IN RABBINIC WRITINGS

Rabbinic Judaism is a religion whichhas reached its reflective stage. The potency of the Law in its supreme significance, the emergence of new theological doctrines like messianism and angelology, and the continuous advance of the idea of a transcendant God made a new interpretation of Bible and history inevitable. This revision of theology necessitated a harmonization of disparate ideas. It is of the essence of such a harmonization to lead to reflection and to a certain type of "rationalism", viz., an attempt to explain, harmonize, systematize and catalogue the various facts of religious sanction. Reflection of this type is a result of the inner logic and dynamic of Judaism in our period. Other factors increased this tendency toward rational reflection. The contact with Hellenistic thinking in both Palestine and outside Palestine acquainted the Jewish thinkers with the rationalism of Hellenism (2), viz., with Greek cosmogonic theories, euhemerism, Plato's idealistic realism, and similar attempts to make transparent the reasonableness of the cosmos and of life. The continuous controversies with non-conformist movements, from Sadducees to gnostics,

also contributed to the growth of rationalizing tendencies in the Rabbinic speculations.

In our specific field of investigation this systematizing or rationalizing tendency is quite prominent. It finds expression, above all, in the crystallization of a more unified idea of the medium for the prophetic faculty, viz., the Holy Spirit, and in the structure of thought built around the fundamental notion of the canonized or inspired scriptures. To a lesser degree, rationalizing attempts concentrate on a psychology, history and chronology of prophecy, and, still less, on a literary criticism of the prophetic writings and their style.

It would be a mistake in method to isolate the expressions of Rabbinic rationalism from the survivals of older conceptions and from the sometimes inadequate attempts to fuse these different elements. In this chapter we will, therefore, stress not only the traces of Rabbinic rationalism, but also some of these inevitable incongruencies.

I

The Bible offered a multiplicity of uses and effects of the "Spirit", varying from a demon-like

power hostile toward man (3) to the "Spirit of God", רוח אלהים, sent to the prophets. The "Spirit" in its various forms causes heroic or miraculous strength (4); ecstasy, enthusiasm, and even the bodily translation of the possessed prophet (5); judicial power (6), wisdom, and skill (7); prophetic pronouncements (8); the power to interpret dreams (9); and supernatural effects in nature and concerning the resurrection of the nation (10). From "Isaiah" on (11), especially in "Ezekiel" and the "Second Isaiah" (12), our conception as the "Spirit" or "Spirit of God" and, in a later stage, as the "Spirit of Holiness" (13) acquires ethical features (14). As we have seen in the preceding chapter, the pious also are led by the Holy Spirit (15).

The use of the "Spirit" in the pre-Rabbinic pseudepigraphic and apocalyptic writings is equally wide, ranging from its participation in the act of creation (16) to the granting of the gift of kingship (17), strength, (18) and wisdom (19), the terms applied being "Holy Spirit" (20), "The Spirit" (21), "Thy Spirit" (22), "Spirit of God" (23), and compound terms like "Spirit of Truth", "Spirit of Wisdom", and many others.

In the Rabbinic writings, however, we find an almost exclusive usage of the term "Spirit of Holiness", רוח הקדש. Another term mostly found in the "Targumim",

is "Spirit of Prophecy" (24) or more elaborately "The Spirit of Prophecy from Jahve" (25), probably introduced to clarify unequivocally the biblical use of the different types of "Spirit" (26). Except for the stream of tradition which understands the Spirit of Piety by רוח הקדש and with another exception soon to be discussed, this term means in all other cases the God-sent spirit which reveals the divine will to man and makes the bearer of the spirit a prophet. In Rabbinic opinion God's will may find its expression in a prophetic book for the use of all subsequent generations or in those sporadic messages of the prophets which were not published in book form, but addressed to their contemporaries only (27). The content of prophecy may be a single order or command, or it may be the whole of God's future plans as well as things past and present, otherwise hidden from theeyes of ordinary mortals. The "Spirit of Holiness" or, in brief, "Holy Spirit" (28), is thus employed to explain various types of revelations.

The only other use of the concept of "Holy Spirit" apart from denoting prophecy and saintliness is connected with the resurrection. For this particular use not much material is available. There is, however, a parallel in the similar employment of the Persian equi-

valent of the Holy Spirit, the Spenta Mainyush in the "Gathas" (29). In the Persian sources the Spenta Mainyush causes or is active in the resurrection and in the final judgment. The main Rabbinic evidence for this idea is R. Phinehas b. Yair's "catena" (30). In this chain of the soritic form R. Phinehas asserts that "... saintliness leads to the Holy Spirit, and the Holy Spirit to the resurrection of the dead ...". To illustrate the connection between the Holy Spirit and saintliness "Ps." 89.20 (or 89.19) is quoted, and "Ez." 37.14 is used to indicate the connection between the Holy Spirit and the resurrection. In the former the Holy Spirit is the Spirit of Prophecy, ethically conditioned, in the latter the power which causes the resurrection. Another Midrash relates that the prophets anticipate in this world the miracles of the world to come (31). Among the examples given to prove this statement Ezekiel's and Elisha's revival of the dead is prominent (32). In this world God's spirit gave man wisdom, but in the world to come his spirit will grant life (33). In "Mishnah Sanhedrin" 11.3 it is said that the Generation of the Flood, דור המבול, will not be judged by the Holy Spirit, as it has no share in the resurrection. This connection of the Holy Spirit with the eschatological drama carries with it some biblical suggestions and is close to the

Persian idea.

Just as it has a part in the eschatological events (the "second" creation), so the Persian Spenta Mainyush plays a role in the work of the "first" creation (34). There are only a few parallels to this idea in Jewish writings. According to "Judith" 16.14 God's spirit built the world, and according to the "Apocalypse of Baruch" 21.4 the "Spirit" built firmament and heaven. The Holy Spirit is the creating and renewing principle in the "Targum" on Ps. 104.30, a late passage as Strack-Billerbeck, I, p. 48, rightly observe. Only the "Palestinian Targum" understood the biblical רוח אלהים in "Gen." 1.2 not as "wind" as the midrashic exegesis does, but as the "Spirit of Mercy from before Jahve". The meaning of the "Holy Spirit" in "Matth." 1.18 is controversial. Leisegang believes that Hellenistic ideas are involved, whereas Strack-Billerbeck, I p. 48, maintain that this passage alludes to the life-creating power of the Holy Spirit.

Apart from causing the power of the visionaries and clairvoyants (35) the Holy Spirit is, above all, the medium which inspired the Holy Scriptures. In this idea the Rabbinic attempt at systematizing, especially through the formation of technical terms, is particularly con-

spicuous. To be sure, Rabbinic interest was naturally centering around a theory which could explain or at least aid in finding a formula for the origin of the Holy Scriptures. This, however, is hardly the only starting point of Rabbinic thinking on prophecy, as it has been suggested by some writers (36). The phenomenon of prophecy as such was highly interesting to many circles in our period (37); and even the legalist was attracted by a study of all the channels through which God's will could descend to man. It is, furthermore, not correct to claim that the title נביא , "prophet", or the verb נבא and its derivatives are employed only for those prophets whose words we possess in the Scriptures (38). Although they are the prophets par excellence owing to the eternal value of their writings, prophets like Gad, Nathan, Elijah and his companions, all the anonymous prophets in the Scriptures as well as all those who were like Adam and the patriarchs promoted to prophecy by the Midrash, and, still further, all those who saw, heard, acted, spoke or wrote in the Holy Spirit for any length of time, are נביאים, prophets. In some cases there is explicit mention that the person who had foreknowledge or foresight by the Holy Spirit is a prophet (39); in all other cases we have to assume that this idea is presupposed in the Midrash because of the overwhelming

material which shows the close connection between the Holy Spirit and prophecy and, furthermore, because of the lack of evidence as to a difference between the possession of the Holy Spirit and prophecy. The Holy Spirit in the sense of exalted piety or as the power which creates life and the resurrection is, of course, exempted from this rule.

Passages showing clearly the Holy Spirit as the power behind the spoken or written word, viz., as the medium of inspiration, are "Siphre" on "Deut." 18.18, #176, "Tos. Yad." 2.14 (40), "IV Ezra" 14.18ff., Josephus, "contra Apionem" I.7, "Mekhil'tha" on 14.31, "jSanh." 28b (41), "Lev. R." 15 (42), "Gen.R." 85 (43), and many more.

Still more informative is the great number of technical terms used to cite the words of the prophets. "Pentateuch", "Prophets", and "Hagiographa" alike were believed to have been inspired in the same way, viz., by the Holy Spirit. There is no difference between "Prophets" and "Hagiographa" as to their value or inspiration. They are, therefore, cited in the same way, their authors being prophets, though differences existed and still exist to-day in their use in the religious services: only on certain festivals are parts of the "Hagiographa", the five "scrolls", publicly re-

cited, whereas the "Torah" and the prophetic portions are read on all the Sabbaths and festivals. In many cases the Midrash and the New Testament speak of a division of the Scriptures into two parts: "the Law and the Prophets" (44). The division into three parts, in traces as old as the prologue by the translator of "Ecclesiasticus", is also used by the Midrash (45). The division into three parts seems to be the result of historical development, i.e., of the growth of the Scriptures: the second part which mainly contained the collection of the older prophecies was finished earlier than the third part with its mixed literary character. Although these two parts are equal in the theological reflection of the Rabbis, their liturgical use and the simultaneous existence of a division of the Bible into three parts suggest that Rabbinic thought made the attempt to overcome a more ancient classification. It is possible that only prophetic books in the stricter sense of the word were originally considered inspired writings and that the idea of the inspired character of the "Hagiographa" gained ground only after an extended struggle. Part of this struggle may be seen in the traces of talmudical controversies which show that certain periods or authorities denied the inspired character of books like "Proverbs", "Ecclesiastes", the

"Song of Solomon", and "Esther" (46). Buechsel, p. 57f., believes that the inspirational theory has been transplanted from the actual words of the prophets to those of the authors of the "Hagiographa" at a very early time (48). We have, however, no definite proof for an original separation of prophetic words from otherwise inspired words of minor rank. It may quite well be that the inspirational idea was stronger rather than weaker in the earlier periods and extended over wisdom literature and poetry as well. The struggle against the admission of some books to the canon may have had halakhic reasons.

In the great majority of Midrashim on prophecy or the Holy Scriptures reference is made to the Holy Spirit. The term "Holy Spirit", however, can be replaced by other similar words. The use of "shekhinah" (God's "Dwelling" or "Presence") for the "Holy Spirit" is quite frequent. Abelson has collected a number of cases in which shekhinah and Holy Spirit are synonymous. Although shekhinah has many more meanings besides denoting the spirit of inspiration, the same terms are used for the description of the working of both Holy Spirit and shekhinah, if they are synonymous. The only exception is the fact that the description of the shekhinah has not become connected with the "materialistic" terms and similes which we will meet below, and that it never became

dramatized and personified to talk to God like the Holy Spirit. The reason for this reticence probably is that the shekhinah is closer to the Godhead than the Holy Spirit. Equivalent to "Holy Spirit" is the "Word" (dibbur), a comparatively frequent term (49). It is also applied to visions and prophetic activities other than the uttering of prophetic words (50). רוח נבואה is synonymous with "Holy Spirit", whereas נבואה denotes the prophetic potency or the phenomenon of prophecy as such (51). This word has, moreover, some other meanings. It may signify the sum of the prophetic utterances of one prophet (52) and single prophetic messages and words (53). Josephus speaks of the "divine spirit" probably in order to make himself understood to Hellenistic readers (54).

A glimpse at the variety of terms used for citing the Holy Scriptures or describing the working of the Holy Spirit shows us several different ideas on the kind of union between the prophet and the spirit and presents the Holy Spirit in various embodiments, ranging from a material substance to a theological hypostazition. It is frequently impossible to establish whether the nature of the Holy Spirit is thought of as physical or spiritual.

The most common Rabbinic idea of inspiration seems to be that the Holy Spirit or the shekhinah is "dwelling" or "resting" (שרת) (55), "on" (על) the prophet (56). The biblical נחה, "to rest", is declared synonymous with the former term (57). "Mekhilta de Rabbi Shimon Ben Jochai", pp. 170-71, relates that the shekhinah was riding on the back of the prophets (על הנבן). In this case the author of our Midrash thinks of the prophets as the bearers of the Holy Spirit. In some other cases, however, we have to keep in mind that the preposition על may not always have the meaning "on" (58). Expressions like "God", or the "shekhinah", or the "Holy Spirit" revealed themselves "on" certain prophets (נגלה על) (59), or the shekhinah or the "Word" united with some persons (התיחד על) (60) indicate that על may mean "in" or "around" in some instances. In fact, there is evidence for both conceptions in our texts.

Quite frequently we find the idea that the Holy Spirit or prophecy "fill" (מלא) the prophet (61). Prophecy is thought of as a fluid, and the prophet is compared to a raincloud (62). On a similar level is the symbolic act described in "IV Ezra" 14.39ff. cp. 14.22, the prophet emptying a cup in order to gain the prophetic power. The practice of drinking water or blood to obtain prophecies is characteristic of Hellenic

cults (63). This conception of being filled with the prophetic element is not very prominent in Rabbinic sources, whereas it is a favourite idea in Hellenistic literature (64). The idea of "enthusiasm", God filling man in the state of ecstasy, is one of the basic conceptions of many Hellenistic divinatory theories. There is only little that is similar to this idea in the Rabbinic sources, and although shekhinah almost means the presence of the godhead, it seems to rest "on" the prophet rather than in him. According to "Siphre on Deuteronomy" 18.18, however, the Holy Spirit is put into the mouth of the prophet and according to "Tanhuma Vayakhel" 5 into the prophet. In "Pessikta Rabbathi" 12a God bids the Holy Spirit to reveal itself and enter Jacob (הכנס). This expression is unique and seems to be a late formulation. From a more psychological angle is the expression "the Holy Spirit flashed in him" (...נצנצה בו רוח), indicating a sudden prophetic intuition (65). There are no indications that the soul was thought to be the seat of the Holy Spirit, except in a few passages which are acquainted with this Hellenic and Hellenistic theory (66).

Another very common expression has the prophet speak (67), see (68), act (69), and prophesy (70)

"in the Holy Spirit" (71). The conception underlying this terminology seems to be the idea that the prophet is materially or bodily enwrapped by the fluid or airy substance of the Holy Spirit. In some cases this term may describe the psychological state of mind of the prophet. Equally equivocal is Josephus' statement that the spirit seizes the prophet (72).

The theory that the inspirational element surrounds the prophet is also expressed by the quite common idea that the Holy Spirit was or will be poured out on the prophets (73). Furthermore, in the opinion of the Midrash the biblical "to clothe" (לבש) (a person) alludes to the working of the Holy Spirit (74). The spirit manifested itself also in Samson's hair (75).

These ideas, the Holy Spirit "in the prophets", "on the prophets", or "all over the prophets", suggest that the Holy Spirit is a fluid or an airy substance, in any case a material element. Some of the texts definitely suggest a liquid, as the ideas of "pouring", "drinking" and "drawing" (76) indicate. Other Midrashim speak of an airy and fiery substance, a fluorescent element. The Stoic "pneuma", too, was fine, fiery air (77). The myths of "Dionysos" relate that fire is caused by the spirit (78), and so do the Persian accounts (79). In the Midrash the faces of the prophets shine like the

sun or like angels (80), the concomitant of the Holy Spirit being brightness and splendour. Devoted study of the scriptures may evoke flames (81). Another example shows that heat, too, is involved in the inspirational state (82). Philo likens Moses to a burning candle from which others are kindled (83). The same simile is used by the Midrash for the description of the same phenomenon (84). The idea that Moses' strength was not weakened by this transfusion of the spirit seems to form a somewhat immaterial element in this conception. The very fact, however, that this transfusion is considered a miracle, confirms the material conception of the idea.

In some statements the Holy Spirit appears as a substance which can be weighed. R. Aha in "Leviticus Rabba" 15.1 believes that the spirit resting on the prophets has always a certain measure or weight (משקל). The prophetic power of the prophets depends on the amount of strength granted to them. In Balaam there was "only little left of the Spirit" (85). A prophet is able to perform prophetic tasks in accordance with his strength only (כחו של). In some Midrashim, however, the expression "<u>koah</u>" may contain a more immaterial element, signifying power in the figurative sense of the word.

Although part of this evidence, introducing the Holy Spirit as a more or less material element, has been taken from metaphors and similes, the underlying idea seems to be a literal belief in the material quality of the Spirit. The strict antithesis of body and spirit as diametrically excluding each other can be found in a small number of Midrashim only, mostly under Hellenistic or Indian influence, and not in connection with our subject matter.

There is an abundance of material which introduces the Holy Spirit as a more independant personal being. This personified Holy Spirit can assume various shades, colours and meanings. Very different ideas converge in these personifications of the Holy Spirit; and only part of them have their origin in another feature of Rabbinic religion, viz., to increase the transcendence of the Godhead.

In the Midrash a personified Holy Spirit is frequently used to introduce biblical quotations. In most of these cases the quotation is used in a homiletical sense, frequently in a new historical connection which the preacher discovers or constructs. Therefore, the actual author of the verse concerned, who lived in another period, cannot be introduced, and the preacher resorts to

having the Holy Spirit speak the verse (87). In some cases the Midrash divides a passage and puts the different parts into the mouths of various biblical or historic persons, thus creating a dramatized conversation which usually concludes with a crowning pronouncement of the Holy Spirit in the last and decisive verse of the passage. "Midrash Samuel" #10, 39b, formulates the rule for the understanding of such passages: "The whole portion is of a composite nature (a mixture of words); what one (person) said the other did not say, and what the other said the one did not say" (88). Psalms and songs are thus divided up among God and Israel (89), the nations and Israel, the righteous and the wicked, and many others, the Holy Spirit having the last word (90). These "historical" dramatic and homiletical Midrashim present the Holy Spirit as lamenting (91) and weeping (92); rejoicing, comforting, and announcing glad tidings (93); mocking or laughing (94); affirming, warning, exhorting, pleading, defending, and simply "answering" (95).

In these Midrashim the Holy Spirit shows more or less the features of a person of the dramatical conversation (or, at times, resembles a Heavenly Voice; cp. below) (96). In most cases we have to deal with a poetical personification. These poetical personifications

are quite common in Rabbinic literature. The Midrash frequently makes a lifeless object the speaker of words, e.g., the letters of the alphabeth, the earth, justice, the "Book of Deuteronomy", the heavenly bodies, and many more (97). This tendency seems to be particularly strong in the period of medieval Midrash, from the sixth to the tenth centuries. None of the aforementioned figures, however, could claim theological reality, or a permanent place in Jewish theology.

The Holy Spirit, however, seems to possess this theological reality. The Holy Spirit, whether material element or poetical personification, is, in the last resort, the medium of God's will and decision. Some passages almost or entirely identify God with the Holy Spirit (98), or introduce God as pronouncing the decisive words instead of the Holy Spirit (99). We have here a parallel to the identification of Holy Spirit and shekhinah, which we have observed before.

There is vast material in which this personified Holy Spirit is introduced as calling or shouting (100), resembling here a mysterious heavenly voice.

We have the fully developed belief in such a heavenly voice in the Rabbinic conception of the בת קול (101). This expression, translated and explained as "echo" or "resounding voice" by modern and also by some

midrashic interpreters (102), seems originally to have denoted a mysterious voice from somewhere (103). We find the belief in mysterious voices from secret places or from temples with the Greeks and Romans, as shown by Cicero, "de divinatione" I #65. Josephus also sometimes connects the heavenly φονή with the Temple (104), and so do many Rabbinic passages (105). We disagree with Bousset's view that the bath kol has its origin in the late Jewish tendency to create abstractions and hypostazations and believe that we have here an older mythological or contemporary popular concept.

The oldest material, of earlier Tannaitic origin, has the pronouncements of the Heavenly Voice directed to many of the Tannaitic celebrities, like Simon the Just (106), John Hyrcanus (107), Hillel (108), Hillel and Shammai (109), Jonathan ben Uzziel (110), the academy in Jabne (111) and many others. More recent material covers a great variety of persons and groups from biblical to Amoraic times.

The Heavenly Voice is considered a substitute for the loss of inspired prophecy (112). It represents another form of communication between God and man, inferior to genuine prophecy and Halakhah (113). The statue of the king cannot do what the king himself can do (114). All these statements probably try to limit the popular belief in heavenly voices. That this belief is

close to popular religion can be seen from the fact that its content frequently is a prophecy in the popular sense (115), or oracles (116). These oracles announce also the heavenly decision for earthly controversies (117). Furthermore, the language of these oracles may be the vernacular, viz., Aramaic, and not the scholarly and more theological Hebrew (118). We have here also to remember Josephus' account of the miraculous omens preceding the fall of the Temple (119), which seem to be based on Jewish or Hellenistic popular beliefs. In almost all of these cases, including the more ethical application of this conception, the announcements of the Heavenly Voice are markedly short, concise and pronounced (120), very much retaining the character of an oracle or a short ecstatic cry (121). The Heavenly Voice was believed to have sounded from Heaven, from the Temple and its ruins, and from Mt. Horeb (122).

In most cases, however, the Rabbis have endowed the Heavenly Voice with the function to make divine pronouncements, such as commands (123), decisions (124), of an ethical character or the prediction of the salvation (125) or condemnation (126) of a person.

The Holy Spirit introduced as shouting (קוראת _) resembles the Heavenly Voice. Actual identification

has taken place in many instances. The Heavenly Voice also recites verses from the Holy Scriptures (127) in the manner of the Holy Spirit. In the frequently cited Midrash on the appearance of the Holy Spirit in Shem's, Solomon's and Samuel's courts of justice, the Holy Spirit is a Bath Kol (128); and the Bath Kol is sometimes called Holy Spirit (129). The Tannaitic material dealing with the disappearance of the Holy Spirit adds that "nevertheless one let them hear by means of the Bath Kol" (130) or "nevertheless" or "still they could make use of the Bath Kol" (131). R. Aibo, flourishing about 320 A.D., calls the Heavenly Voice "a remnant" of prophecy, using "Is." 1.9 as an illustration (132). These statements indicate that Holy Spirit and Heavenly Voice are either related to each other, or both related to God's voice, which sounded miraculously at Mt. Sinai and from the Tabernacle (133). For both means of revelation the expression יצא or (in late Hebrew) יתה is in use: "The Holy Spirit" (134) or "a Heavenly Voice sounded (literally: "went out") and said" (135). Furthermore, both are thought of as female.

This relationship between the Heavenly Voice and the Holy Spirit is, however, apart from some pre-

cursors in Tannaitic sources, mainly a characteristic of the Amoraic Midrash or even of the still later redactors of the Midrash, who indiscriminately exchange Holy Spirit, shekhinah, "Word", angels and the prophet Elijah. The idea of the Bath Kol, the mysterious, half mythological voice from somewhere, has thus penetrated into the conception of the Holy Spirit, which latter may have included, however, the element of the ecstatic human cry before this fusion took place (136). Both are now means of divine revelation, of the ethical and soteriological dramatic conversation between Heaven and Earth. It is understandable that the New Testament made ample use of this impressive conception (137).

In a number of Midrashim we find a more intense theological personification of the Holy Spirit (138). The Holy Spirit is here simultaneously an intermediary between God and Israel. In one Midrash (139) the Holy Spirit is called a "defence", סנ'גורייא, admonishing both God and Israel and "turning here and there". It is hard to decide whether this intermediary can claim theological reality. In R. Aibo's Midrash (140) the Bath Kol is called "defender", "advocate" (סנ'גור) "among the peoples of the earth". Rather exegetical is the use of the arguging Holy Spirit in

"Leviticus Rabba" 5.1 and "Midrash Proverbs" on 11.21, where the Holy Spirit resembles the voice of conscience. A complete personification is presupposed in "Pessikta Rabbathi" 12a, a possibly late passage, where God gives orders to the Holy Spirit, and in (the probably Christian part of) the "Ascension of Isaiah", where Isaiah converses with the Holy Spirit (141).

A more complete personification can be found in the idea that the Holy Spirit is an angel. We frequently meet this idea in Christian sources, like the "Ascension of Isaiah" (142) and the "Shepherd of Hermas". The angel had always been an intermediary and revealer of God's will (143), especially in the Apocrypha, where he is also the medium which carries the prophet to the heavenly realm (144). In the Midrash and in the New Testament, too, angels are often the mediators between God and the prophets, assuming the functions of the Holy Spirit (145). The later Midrash in its reformulations of the older Midrash replaces at times the Holy Spirit by an angel. Both Michael and the Holy Spirit are defenders of Israel (146). Such exchanges could be made on the basis of the belief that the Holy Spirit was an independant personal being. However, in Rabbinic sources we have no evidence for the existence of the idea that the Holy Spirit was an angel.

An investigation into traces of a more ancient and possibly mythological personification does not lead us very far. The feminine gender of ruah as "wind" seems to be the origin of the idea of the feminine gender of the Holy Spirit. There are a number of biblical exceptions (147). The sporadic use of the masculine gender in some Rabbinic sources seems to have come about owing to faulty editions or to the carelessness of the redactors (148). The role of the Holy Spirit in "Matth." 1.18, 20 need not necessarily be that of the divine male principle, but may allude to the life creating power of the Spirit. Wisdom, shekhinah, and Bath Kol are also feminine. But only wisdom has been conceived of as a personal being or figure (149). In some Christian apocrypha, however, the Holy Spirit appears as a female figure. In the "Gospels To The Hebrews", the personified Holy Spirit is called "mother" (150), and the same title is given to the Holy Spirit as the creative power in the "Acts of Thomas" (151). The trinity of the Nazarenes consists of Father, Son, and Mother, the latter being called Ruah (152). Elchasai has a vision of the female figure of the Holy Spirit (153). There are, however, no Rabbinic sources which allude to such a conception.

Rabbinic rationalism in the Jewish conception of the Holy Spirit worked thus in two directions. It created the theory of a material element and a "mechanical" working of this inspirational element (154) together with the attempt at a fixed terminology, which is, in part, a new creation, and has largely replaced the richer biblical terminology (155). The other creation of rationalism is its emphasis on God's transcendence and the resulting personification of the Holy Spirit, a spiritual intermediary (155a). Both the Holy Spirit as an "element" and as a spiritual being are units distinct from God, but, nevertheless, apart from very few exceptions, not entirely separate from him. The actual relation of the Holy Spirit to God remains uncertain, thus offering a parallel to the Persian conceptions of "Spenta Mainyush" and Ahura Masda (156). Medieval Jewish philosophy sometimes tried to harmonize and explain this puzzling problem. Uncertain, too, is the actual character of the personification, which is sometimes poetical, sometimes more theological. The predominant aim of these rationalistic "theories", however, has been achieved, viz., to demonstrate that God directs the history of Israel and the nations by revealing his will to his prophets, at the same time preserving his transcendence and aloofness

from the world.

II

Apart from these rationalizations there are some undercurrents traceable in the Rabbinic conception of the Holy Spirit. One stream of tradition seems to reflect mythological features. Sometimes the Holy Spirit or the Bath Kol is described or even conceived of in the likeness of a dove, as in "Berakhoth" 3a (157), where the Heavenly Voice coos like a dove, and in "Targum Cant." 2.12, where the "voice of the turtle dove" is translated by "the voice of the Holy Spirit". In "Chagigah" 15a the Spirit of God of "Gen." 1.2 is likened to a dove (158). A dove as the medium of translating the visionary to the divine realm can be found in the "Apocalypse of Abraham", ch. 15. "Cant. Rabba" 2.12 and "Pessikta Rabbathi" 73b refer "Cant." 2.12 to Moses, "Ps.-Philo" 23.7 to the prophets in general (159). The New Testament passages, "Matth." 3.16, "Mark" 1.10, "Luke" 3.22, seem to be in line with these ideas. The dove was the bird of Ishtar. Ishtar, and also Isis and Helena are sometimes identified with the ruah in gnostic and sectarian circles (160).

The idea that a bearer of the divine pneuma, viz., a prophet or god, can beget a prophet was a widespread belief in the ancient world. It may underly "Is." 8.3. Prophets and prophetesses are the offspring of gods in Hellenic sources, as in the myths connected with Branchos and with Dionysos (161). The story of the false prophets Ahab and Zedekiah is quite popular in the Midrash (162). The sin of these prophets seem to have been that they seduced Nebuchadnezzar's daughter(s) by promising her (them) prophetic offspring (163). The idea that a prophet begets a prophet is also in the background of Eusebius' interpretation of "Is." 7.14 and 8.3 (164). The adversaries of the gnostic prophet Markus seem to have accused him of practising a similar belief with his female adherents (165); and mandaic false prophets really did so (166).

Rabbinic sources hold that the prophet's father is also usually or frequently a prophet (167). The underlying idea seems to be that the Holy Spirit, or the office at least, is hereditary in one way or another. It is not impossible that the proverbial expression "sons of prophets", later used to remind the people of their ethical or legal responsibilities, originally included an allusion to the hereditary power of the Holy Spirit (168). Another proverbial phrase may go back to

a similar idea, viz., the title "a prophet, son of a prophet" (169) or "I am neither a prophet nor a prophet's son" (לא נביא אנכי ולא בן נביא אנכי) (170). To be sure, there is a wide-spread use of this popular semitic formula for categories of men other than prophets (171), but in this particular application, it seems to suggest that a prophet's son is somehow endowed with a least a reflection of the spiritual gifts of his father by the mere fact of having sprung from him.

Other utterances on the Holy Spirit stress certain miraculous concomitants of the Holy Spirit. We have mentioned the light connected with the presence of the Holy Spirit. Some sources stress the fantastic sound and the strange noise which accompanied the Holy Spirit or the shekhinah when they rested on Samson (172). The Holy Spirit makes our hero knock mountains together and his hair ring like a bell from "Zorah to Eshtaol". In Chapter V we will discuss the magic power of prophets and in Chapter IV their awe-inspiring appearance.

The Midrash stresses sometimes the suddenness with which the Holy Spirit or the "Word" "jump" on a person (173), almost recalling the attack of a demon. R. Jochanan, in "Sanhedrin" 89a, claims that it was Naboth's spirit, acting like a demon, which lead Zedekiah ben Chenaanah astray. Demons might "inspire" the false prophets (174). Old age, also, suddenly jumped on

Abraham (175) and on mankind, acting like a demon in its sudden damaging effect. In some cases, however, this feature may be the reflection of psychological experiences rather than the expression of the belief in demonic inspiration.

III

There are some more descriptions of the working and the effect of inspiration in Rabbinic sources (ostensibly presenting "mythological" features), which have really in mind the psychological experience of the inspired. According to these observers, who must have watched or studied the phenomenon of inspiration well, the working of the Holy Spirit is not a mechanical process. This rationalistic study of inspiration offers observations which have also been made by Hellenistic sources describing the same phenomenon.

Rabbinic psychology describes the force and power of the Spirit. "No man has power over the Spirit to make it withhold from him" (176). Josephus speaks of νικᾶν and λαμβάνειν : the Spirit overpowers and seizes man (177). The "Sibylline Oracles" stress the pain, the compulsion, and the cry for deliverance on the part of the prophet, probably following a stereo-

typed literary convention describing pagan oracles (178). According to the Midrash, Moses, Jonah and Jeremiah were sent against their will and were not masters of their feet and mouths (179). It is only logical that sources which speak of ecstasy (180) presuppose a belief in the power of the inspirational medium.

Another feature, a result of the belief in the power of the Holy Spirit, is rare in Rabbinic sources, but can be found in biblical and more so in apocalyptic and New Testament writings (181). It is the idea that the force of the Holy Spirit can drive prophets from one place to another, uplift them and remove them (182). The Targum, however, uses in its translation the "Spirit of Strength" (רוח גבורא) to replace the biblical "Spirit" in these cases, perhaps in order to free the Holy Spirit conception from mythological elements. Furthermore, the favourite position which the idea of the prophet's "translation" had acquired in the apocalypses may have induced the author of the Targum to evade it, at least in connection with the Holy Spirit idea. The Rabbinical heroes of apocalyptic speculations, however, were supposed to have undergone such experiences (183).

Beside the more mythological term קפצה עליו רוח הקדש ("the Holy Spirit jumped on him") we find the more psychological term נצנצה בו רוח הקדש ("the Holy Spirit flashed in him"), indicating the speed and unforeseen arrival of inspiration in the human mind 184). We are reminded of Cicero's description of prophecies, that presentiment "strikes" the soul, and of his quotation of Cassandra's words from Pacuvius: "What sudden transport fires my virgin soul" (185).

The Holy Spirit works with a certain element of explosiveness. The words of "Ps." 45.1, "my heart overfloweth", refer in the opinion of the Midrash to the prophecy of the psalm-author (186). The prophets in general are compared to bursting clouds (187).

All these features of the Spirit, power, suddenness, and explosiveness, indicate that the thoughts of the prophets are driven by the force of inspiration and that, therefore, the prophetic texts are not well arranged in the logical or chronological sense (אין מוקדם ומאוחר בתורה). Prophecy is not well arranged like poetry and is not mere poetry. The prophet has to speak where and how the Spirit comes (188).

Another observation of the Rabbinic psychology of prophecy is concerned with the feeling of elation and joy on the part of the bearer of the Spirit.

This ideas has been elaborated upon and used in a considerable number of Midrashim. The rule has been developed that the Holy Spirit can only rest where there is joy, but never where there is sadness, boredom, laziness, frivolity, or thoughtlessness (189). In "b Pessahim" 117a joy is connected with the fulfilment of the Law by declaring it to be the joy resulting from a pious deed. However, from the examples quoted to illustrate the arrival of the Holy Spirit in this joyful state of mind it is evident that this exaltation is free from ethical considerations. The Spirit comes on David in the enjoyment of playing the harp (190), on Jacob after the good news that Joseph is still alive (191). On account of the joy during the ceremony of the Drawing of Water on the Feast of Tabernacles the Spirit dwelt on Jonah (192). We may have here a rationalization of the idea that the Temple or the Holy Rock was the seat of the Holy Spirit (193). Other examples speak of Jacob, who kissed his grandsons, since he thought that on account of this joy (מתוך שמחה) the Holy Spirit might dwell on him (194). The same motive may account for the coming of the Holy Spirit to Elisabeth after she heard Mary's salutation (195). Leisegang, however, ascribes the

arrival of the Holy Spirit to the "pneumatic" sphere of the pregnant Mary in accordance with Hellenistic parallels (196). He also adduces material to prove that here and in Philonic and Hellenistic sources "enthusia m, the gift of prophecy and the joy in the Spirit" are the consequences of being conceived by the god. Be this as it may, the Rabbinic observations on the joy accompanying the presence of the Holy Spirit belong to psychology rather than to mythology.

Sadness, on the other hand, made the Holy Spirit disappear from Jacob after he had lost Joseph (197) and also from Isaac owing to his worries and troubles caused by Esau (198) and his daughters-in-law (199). Jacob lost his inspirational power when blessing Ephraim and Manasse, as he foresaw in the Spirit some of his wicked descendants. Joseph's prayer had to restore the Spirit in Jacob, thus enabling him to resume his blessing (200). The "Shepherd of Hermas" points out that the Holy Spirit(in this case rather the Spirit of Piety) is joyful, and should not be mixed with sadness (201).

It is not impossible that the idea of the arrival of the Holy Spirit after prayers (202) had once or still has psychological experiences in mind. In

their present formulation, however, these sources testify to the idea that expressions of piety are rewarded by the acquisition of the Holy Spirit.

Rabbinic psychology, stressing the power and suddenness of the Spirit, seems not to have contradicted the Rabbis' belief both in the active participation of the prophet's mind in the formulation of his prophecy and in the full responsibility of the prophet for his word.

One stream of tradition, having in mind the divine character of the Scriptures, emphasizes God's part in this process and believes, therefore, that God <u>dictated</u> to the prophet (203), or that the prophets speak "from the mouth of God" (204). Furthermore, sources describing prophetic ecstasy or the mainly Hellenistic idea that the prophet is the <u>instrument</u> of the deity, do not ascribe any part of a prophecy to the activity of the prophet. The great majority of Rabbinic texts, however, are not in line with this idea of a mechanical and slavishly verbal inspiration.

A compromise between these two ideas is attempted in "Siphra" (205). Moses hears directly "from the mouth of God" and being in the Spirit has to reflect on the words heard. In another compromise the prophets

take part emotionally in what they are forced to say. Moses and the prophets wept when writing or prophesying (206); Isaiah's mind did not calm down after the curses of "Is." 3.1ff. until he had said "Is." 3.5 (207).

Most sources, however, admit that a great part or practically the whole prophecy has to be ascribed to the creative power of the prophets. Prophets are punished when their words abuse Israel, or do not render due respect to God (208). They formulate their words according to what they believe is true, trying to be honest and even not to flatter God (209). The midrashic belief in the active contribution of the prophets is also indicated in the many remarks of "literary criticism", which point out the difference in style and content of the prophetic books, ascribing these differences to the difference in personality and age of the prophets concerned, and to the circumstances under which they lived (210).

IV

It was one of the tendencies and tasks of Rabbinic thinking to give a detailed account of the whole of biblical history. Contradictions were dissolved, gaps

filled, the data catalogued; and various observations on textual and historical problems were made. Chronology also plays a great role in Rabbinic thinking. We find thus in our texts a chronology, history, typology, and literary history of prophecy.

The chronological problems which the Rabbis discussed will not be dealt with here, as they have little bearing on religious thought. The Rabbis tried mainly to fix the age of undated books like "Joel", "Job", "Nahum", and "Habakkuk", and to define the succession of the contemporaries Isaiah, Amos, Hosea, and Micah, probably in order to justify their position in the canon (211). It is interesting to note that the Tannaitic "Seder Olam", ch. 20, tries to give a more or less complete chronology of the prophets. According to this chronicle the prophets seem to form an uninterrupted chain of tradition after Moses' lifetime. The Rabbis distinguished "first" and "last" prophets (נביאים ראשונים, נביאים אחרונים) (212), but this classification does not coincide with the present division of the prophetic writings into earlier and later prophets.

One tradition gives the number of prophets as 48, of prophetesses as 7 (213). It seems to be impossible to discover the system of this account, al-

though it may underly the list in "Seder Olam". It is highly probable, however, that these figures were originally chosen owing to their significance in religious popular thought, and are not based on a census of the prophets, as all our sources mention by name many more full-fledged prophets and prophetesses. The Midrash acknowledges a large and sometimes fantastic number of prophets and even prophetesses (214). There was a great increase in Elkanah's (215), Elijah's (216), and Hosea's time (217), when Israel had to be brought to repentance. With Elijah's departure the number of prophets decreased again (218). One account mentions 8 post-exilic prophets (219). God spoke to the Patriarchs only 15 times in 502 years, but later more often (220); to Moses he spoke once 15 times on a single day (221). In Elijah's time prophets were sent out daily, in Hosea's time for 90 years continuously (222). There were prophets from every tribe (223) and from every city in Israel (224).

According to some explicit statements of the Rabbis prophecy began in the wilderness (225). It was taken from the heathen and given to Israel after the Torah had been received (226) or, in other opinions, after the erection of the Tabernacle (227), or after Balaam had forfeited the Holy Spirit (228). All these

ideas express the belief that the revelation to Moses, viz., the "Torah", is the necessary basis for any later prophecy and that Moses is the "father of the prophets" (229). Another stream of tradition seems to consider Samuel as the first prophet and to assign an exceptional rank to Moses (230). For the mystics and gnostics creation was the great culminating point in history, and prophecy started at that time (231). The Patriarchs and many of the ancestors of mankind were prophets also according to the Rabbis, but their prophecy was somewhat different from that of the later prophets, who spoke primarily to Israel and not to the Gentiles, and preached repentance and return to the "Torah". After the loss of prophecy (232) the Holy Spirit ascended; one source, however, expresses the belief that prophecy was given to the other nations (233).

The Rabbis distinguished different types or classes of prophets in biblical times. It was a favourite tendency of the Rabbis to classify the data of the biblical accounts and to create a hierarchy of castes and ranks. Needless to say, some of these distinctions have been created for homiletical reasons only; others seem to express a more permanent and

general conviction of the Rabbis. We confine our material to the latter sources.

The prophecy of the Patriarchs is considered a particularly high and sublime type of prophecy. The Patriarchs prophesied without affirmations, promises, and miracles (234). "Mekhilta de R. Shimon b. Jochaé", p. 170f., drawn from "Midrash Haggadhol" or "Midrash Agur", pp. 111-112 (both passages medieval summaries of earlier Midrashic teachings and for the most part parallel to each other), offers in concise form a list of differences between the prophecy of the patriarchs and that of Moses and the other prophets, in which the prophetic capacity of the former appears as higher and more mature (235). The comparatively lower form of post-patriarchical prophecy is conditioned by the low moral and religious standard of the generations to which they were obliged to speak. The power of the faith of the patriarchs is also stressed (236).

The exceptional rank of Moses and that of his generation has been mentioned before (237). Considerable differences of rank can be found also among the prophets later than Moses, for prophecies for the needs of the far future or for all times (נבי הדורות) seem to have been esteemed more highly than those concerning the needs of the present or immediate future

(לפי השעה) (238). Prophecies of permanent value only have been written down (239). Continuous prophesying during the whole lifetime of a prophet is superior to sporadic utterances (240), the writing of voluminous books to that of short chapters or single verses (241). Isaiah is, therefore, sometimes called the greatest of the prophets, Obadiah the smallest (242). Revelations received during day-time are better than those received in the night (243), those received in the wakeful state of mind better than those received in dreams and ecstatic spells (244). Clear and distinct prophecies are superior to obscure and ambiguous ones (245), direct prophecies better than indirect ones (246).

The insight into the divine mysteries, particularly into those pertaining to God's person and attributes and to the Beyond and the World to Come, is granted to the prophets in varying degrees. There are prophets who "see the splendour" and others who only see "the reflection of the splendour" (247). Ezekiel and Isaiah are sometimes granted a special rank by the Rabbis owing to their great and far-reaching vision (248). To every prophet God appears according to the measure of his appointed power (249).

The Midrash does not avail itself of some of

the more ancient distinctions of prophets indicated in the biblical texts, viz., the חוזה, צופה, or רואה. The term "nabhi" includes them all, and the biblical terms are declared to be nothing else than alternatives for it (250). There are, however, other categories of prophets in the Midrash which are suggested by biblical prophecy. The prophets of salvation and the prophets of catastrophe, "Heils und Unheilspropheten", are designated by the terms נתנבא לטובה and נתנבא לרעה (251).

There are prophets for Israel and prophets for the "nations of the world" (נביא אומות העולם) (252). In the earlier biblical accounts God spoke indiscriminately to both Jew and pagan. Here the Rabbis confronted a grave theological problem, God having addressed the heathen also and not only the chosen people. There was one way out of this dilemma: the prophecy of the heathen was inferior to those of the Israelite prophets in every respect, both technically and morally (253). Only Balaam was supposed to be superior even to Moses in a few technical respects (254). Prophecy was given to the pagans in order to take away their possible excuse for not having known God's commandments (255). The nations, however, lost their Holy Spirit to Israel (256). The number of pagan

prophets is given as seven: Balaam and his father, Job, Eliphas, Bildad, Zophar and Elihu (257). A similar role is played by Adam, Noah, Shem, (Japheth), (Ham), and Eber who are "the prophets for the world" before Abraham (258). The latter and in some opinions also Job and some of the former are declared to be Jews preaching to the heathen (259). The number seven is merely midrashic; there are more pagan prophets. "Leviticus Rabba" 1.13 mentions Abimelech and Laban; and R. Jochanan in "Sanhedrin" 103bf. has the shekhinah dwell on the prophets of Baal. Popular religion and the influence of the strong prophetic movements of the Hellenistic and Roman age seem not only to have contradicted the idea of the end of Israel's prophecy, but also the idea of the end of heathen prophecy (260). Prophecy was given back to the heathen after it had been taken from Israel (261). Titus, Balaam, and Jesus may have been considered prophets in such a passage as "Gittin" 56bf., (262). The pagan Sibylline oracles furnished Jewish literature with a pattern for prophecies.

Another important contrast of biblical origin is formed by the categories of the true (נביא אמת) and the false prophets (נביא השקר) (263).

The words of the true prophets will be ful-

filled and are eternally true (264), as they are the words of the living God (265). The Hebrew term for "to fulfill" is ק"ם , הקים (266), the Greek term πληρόω (267). לקיים את שנאמר, לקיים דבר, etc. (268) seem to have been a stereotyped formula, especially in the New Testament equivalents. The verbs כלה (269), תמם (270), and בוא (271), which also express the fulfillment of prophecies, are not so very frequent. The prophet whose words come true or who is otherwise trustworthy (272) is called נאמן (273), πιστός (274), and rarely חוזק (275). The destruction of the Temple must have greatly strengthened the belief in the trustworthiness of the prophetic words, as it is clearly reflected in the Midrash (276). The people are bound to believe (מאמין) the words of the true prophets (277) and to obey their orders (278).

The false prophet is usually called ψευδο-προφήτης by the "Septuagint", especially in "Jer." 6.13, 27.9, etc. This is the translation even for the Hebrew "nabhi" in some instances: in the case of pagan mantics, "Jer." 27.9, 29.8, and Jeremiah's adversaries, 26.7, 8, 11, 16, 28.1, etc. The pagan world called the false prophet γόης ; Josephus and Philo also use this expression (279). In "Acts" 16.16 μάντις appears in a negative sense, μαινομένος in "LXX Jer." 36.26 and

others.

There are different opinions as to what constitutes the false prophet. False prophets are personally dishonest; they are impostors and liars and certainly not inspired (280); they accept bribes, and their motive is greed (281). Furthermore, a false prophet can be a prophet seducing the people to commit idolatry and speaking "in the name of idolatry" (בשם עבודה זרה) (282). These false prophets were responsible for Israel's final fall and exile (283). The true prophet, however, "goes up in the breaches" like the "faithful shepherd" Moses and does not try to hide and escape (284).

A true prophet may become a false prophet or magician (285). A prophet is liable to be punished for various transgressions: for keeping back his own prophecy like Jonah, for non-obedience to the prophecy of another prophet like the companion of the prophet in "I Kings" 13, by transgressing his own words like Iddo, by prophesying what he had not heard like Zedekiah, and by announcing prophecies given to another prophet like Hananiah (286). False prophets may, finally, "speak in rebellion against the Lord" (287).

There is also one trend of opinion which claims that the false prophet may be sent by God him-

self in order to test Israel (288). In the "Shepherd of Hermas" Satan inspires the false prophets. In "II Kings" 22.19ff. Micaiah's adversary is inspired by an evil spirit on God's command. Demons frequently play this role (289).

Apart from this classification of the different groups of prophets the Rabbis concentrated their attention on the style of the prophetic utterances and made a great number of observations in this field, at times closely bordering on actual literary criticism. We confine ourselves to a few interesting and more typical examples out of the extensive material.

We have seen that the message of the prophets, although being of eternal value, corresponds to "the need of the hour", i.e., is shaped and conditioned by the historical situation (290). Prophets are influenced by historical events and by their personal experiences in the formulation of their prophecies (291). The quite frequent use of קום, בוא and עמד for the appearance or the activity of the prophets stress the connection of their efforts with the historical situation (292).

Some Rabbis recognize that certain parts of the "Torah" or the prophetical writings have been com-

posed by a second author: the last eight verses of the "Pentateuch" have been written by Joshua (according to one opinion); David's psalm-book contains the psalms of numerous other writers; Nehemiah finished Ezra's "Book of Chronicles" (293); the "Book of Joshua" was elaborated upon by Eleazar and by Phinehas, the "Book of Samuel" by Gad and Nathan (294); and verses by Beeri have been inserted into Isaiah's book (295). The succession of prophecies within the various books is not chronologically arranged (296). The actual beginning or end of a prophetic book is sometimes not the first or last chapter (297).

Numerous are the observations on the style of the prophets. Although the thoughts of the different prophets and the content of their writings are often identical (298), their style is never quite the same (299), but still similar (300). The prophets use enigmas (301), metaphors (302), and anthropomorphisms in their description of God (303). Sometimes the prophets use stylistic exaggerations, as in "Deut." 1.28 and "I Ki." 1.40 (304). Certain elements of the prophetic speech are used by many or all the prophets, above all the formulas for the opening of an announcement, such as ... האזינו (305), כה אמר , אוי (306), משא, וידבר, etc. (307). The prophets speak in terms of

love and sanctity like the ministering angels (308).

ADDITIONS

The removal of the Holy Spirit: The removal of the Holy Spirit from a prophet or from Israel is mostly designated by הסתלק (309) or סלק resp. (310). The underlying idea may be that the Holy Spirit ascends to the heavenly realm where it had come from, but the expression may have lost its original meaning and may only indicate the mere fact of the removal. Very frequent are "ceased" (פסק) (311) and "to be taken from" (נטלה רוח הקדש בדין) (312). Les frequent, but more interesting is the term "to be concealed", "hidden from" (נתנוך רוה הקדש מן) (313). All these expressions are used with Holy Spirit, shekhinah and "prophecy" (נבואה) alike.

On the terminology introducing the Holy Spirit or prophecy: A high percentage of biblical quotations in the Midrash are built according to the pattern: "this is what the Holy Spirit has said through (על ידי) Solomon (314)". Sometimes, the prophet's name is dropped and the Holy Spirit appears as the speaker, as in "Pessikta de Rabh Kahana" 75b, "Leviticus Rabba" 27, Justin, "Dial." 73, etc. There are various other terms without reference to the Holy Spirit, but referring to the prophet (315), the verse or the "written (word)",

or to God (316). These terms are in many cases abbreviations of longer terms containing a reference to the Holy Spirit, i.e., the Holy Spirit theory is either presupposed or at least not contradicted by this terminology.

There are, however, various other terms for prophecy which do not mention the Holy Spirit idea nor have it in mind, but refer to the more "naive" biblical ideas, e.g., derivatives from the verbs נבא (317), כתב (318) and הדבר עם (319), i.e., the idea that God or the <u>shekhinah</u> speaks to the prophet (דבר עם) (320) (השיח עם) (321); or they reveal themselves or their will to them (גלה, גלה על; גלה דברים) (322). Rare is the expression "to speak from the mouth of God" (323). Josephus uses consistently προφητεύειν for the scriptural prophets, whereas μαντεύεσθαι is used for pagan mantics (324).

As a rule, however, the Rabbinic Holy Spirit theory has influenced the great majority of quotations from the Scriptures and discussions on prophecy. The New Testament makes ample use of the contemporary Rabbinic forms and methods of citing from the Scriptures (325).

Results

Rabbinic rationalism is traceable in the attempts at a systematic theory of prophecy and inspiration, adapted to the increased transcendentalism of the age. This theory also tries to explain and justify the introduction of a fixed canon of scriptures. Furthermore, in Rabbinic literature we find statements concerning a psychology, chronology, history, typology and literary criticism of prophecy.

The Rabbinci efforts aim at a simplification and unification of the terms denoting the working and the effect of the "Spirit" in the Scriptures. The expression "Spirit of Holiness" becomes almost exclusively the only expression for the medium of prophetic inspiration. However, the shekhinah, the "Word", or "(the Spirit of) Prophecy" sometimes replace the "Holy Spirit". Another function of the Holy Spirit (beside denoting the Spirit of Saintliness, cp. Ch. II) is connected with the resurrection of the dead, or, more generally, with life creating power, a parallel to the functions of the Spenta Mainyush, the Holy Spirit of the Persians.

All the biblical writings are equally products of the Holy Spirit and thus are prophecy. The

division of the canon into two parts (Law and Prophets) reflects this theory. The division into three parts may preserve an older stage or a different method of classification.

The terminology for the union of Holy Spirit and man and the description thereof can be divided into two groups: one expressing the idea that the Holy Spirit "fills" man, and one believing that it "surrounds", rests on or enwraps man. In both cases the spirit is thought of as a material substance, such as fine air, a fluid, or a weighable element, sometimes evoking fire, light, heat or sound.

In the Midrash there is a terminology for the act of prophesying, for the departure of the Holy Spirit, and for the quotation of biblical verses. Not in all cases has the Rabbinic Holy Spirit theory brought older conceptions under control. Some more "naive" biblical concepts persist.

The Holy Spirit appears also in different stages of personification, mostly as a poetical personification, but rarely as a spiritual being of theological dignity. In a few instances it resembles an angel and sometimes is almost an equivalent for the Godhead. The Holy Spirit both as an "element" and as a personified being is somehow connected with or part

of Deity, except in the case of some of the more complete theological personifications which represent the Holy Spirit as a personal mediator between God and Israel. Furthermore, the Holy Spirit often resembles or is closely related to another Rabbinic conception, the "Heavenly Voice".

In a few non-Jewish sources the Holy Spirit is a female figure. In the Midrash mythological reminiscences or influences seem to be traceable in the conception of the Holy Spirit in the likeness of a dove. Furthermore, the Midrash mentions certain miraculous concomitants of the Holy Spirit, and sometimes its likeness to a demon. It seems to have been thought of as a hereditary faculty, a remote parallel to the mysterious begetting of a prophet by a prophet or god in extra-Rabbinic sources.

Rabbinic psychology mentions the power of the spirit, its sudden coming and its explosiveness, and the feeling of exaltation accompanying it. Nevertheless, many agree on the participation of the prophet's "ratio" in the act of prophecy, indicated by the full responsibility of the prophet for his words.

The Rabbis are interested in the chronological problems of prophecy and in the number of prophets. The number of prophets increased and decreased continuously

in the course of history. Actual prophecy (apart from patriarchical prophecy and that of Moses) began in the wilderness er with Samuel. (On the end of prophecy cp. Ch. II).

In distinguishing different types and classes of prophets, the Rabbis mention the prophecy of the patriarchs, of Moses, and of all the other prophets, and establish different ranks within the latter. Biblical distinctions have disappeared except important ones, such as the distinction between prophets of doom and of consolation, between Israelite and pagan prophets, and between false and true prophets. There are various types of false prophets, amongst them genuinely inspired ones.

Critical remarks of the Midrash cover the question of the real authorship of the books, their historical background, and their composition and style.

The appearance of ethical features and of a rationalistic element, and the simultaneous decline of mythological features in the Rabbinic conception of prophecy is parallel to similar changes in the contemporary religions of the ancient world, but by no means entirely dependant on them (cp. the Epilogue).

NOTES

1) We call rationalism the Rabbinic tendency to systematize, explain and classify on the one hand, and on the other the expressions of actual critical rationalism as found in Hellenistic thought.

2) Of particular interest are here the many Midrashim dealing with a pagan's rationalistic attack against principles and dogmata of Judaism. This field has so far only rarely been treated as to its theological significance.

3) Jud. 9,23; I Ki. 22.19ff.

4) Jud. 3.10, 6.34, 11.29, 13.25, 14.6, 19, 15.14, I Sam. 11.6, etc. Cp. Deut. 34.7, 12, cp. Elijah's dash before Ahab's chariot.

5) Num. 24.2, I Sam. 19.20ff., and still I Chron. 12.19, cp. Ez. 3.14f.

6) the seventy elders.

7) Gen. 41.38, II Sam. 16.23, Ex. 28.3, 31.3, 35.31.

8) Num. 11.66f., 25; Joel 2.28 (3.1).

9) Gen. 41.16, Dan. 4.5ff., 5.11ff., 6.3f.

10) Ez. 37; 39.29.

11) cp. Ch. II, and Is. 32.15f.

12) Is. 44.3.

13) Ps. 51.12ff., Is. 63.10f., cp. II Ki. 4.9.

14) Is. 42.1, 48.16, 59.21, 61.1, Sech. 7.12, Neh. 9.30, esp. the Chronicler: I Chron. 12.18, II Chron. 15.1, 20.14, 24.20.

15) Ps. 143, cp. 39.

16) Judith 16.15, I Bar. 21.4.

17) Ps. Sal. 17.37.

18) Ps. Sal. 17.42.

19) ibid., 18.8. Sap. Sal. 7.27.

20) Sap. Sal. 9.17, Test. Napht. 10.8, Ps. Sal. 17.37.

21) Apc. Bar. I 21.4, Test. Jud. 24.

22) Judith 16.15. 23) Test. Levi 15.

24) Onk., j Targ. Num. 11.29, etc.

25) Onk., j Targ. Gen. 41.38, Ex. 35.31, Num. 24.2, j Num. 27.18, Targ. Jud. 3.10, etc.

26) a collection of material in Strack-B. II, p. 129.

27) Sed. Ol. 21, Meg. 14a.

28) the latter title almost without exception in Greek only: πνεῦμα ἅγιον ; πνεῦμα ἁγιοσύνης is rare, cp. Rom. 1.3, Test. Levi 18.

29) cp. Volz, p. 334.

30) Mi. Sotah 9.15; missing in j Mi. Sotah; j Shab. 3c, j Shek. 47c, Cant. R. 1.1, Ab. Zarah 20b. Cp. Bacher, Tannaiten I, 269Z, II 497.

31) Cp. Ch. V.

32) the resurrection of the dead in Ez. 37 is for the Rabbis an actual event, not a prophecy for the future or a symbolical story.

33) Ex. R. 35.30. 34) Volz, p. 334.

35) Cp. Ch. IV and Ch. V. 36) Heinemann, Buechsel.

37) cp. Ch. IV and Ch. V. 38) Bass..

39) e.g., Eber, Gen. R. 37.7.

40) R. Shimon b. Menassiah, ab. 180 A.D.

41) many parallels, Lev. R. 11.7, PR 19b. The begin. of the Midrash is by R. Eleazar.

42) R. Aha, 320, R. Shimon, 280 A.D.

43) R. Huna.

44) נביאים or קבלה ; cp. Strack-B. IV, 416f.

45) Sanh. 90b; Meg. 21b, Ab. Zarah 19b, etc. cp. Strack-B. IV, p. 418. II Macc. 2.13, Luke 24.44, Josephus, c. Ap. I, 8.

46) cp. Yad. 2, Mishna and Tossefta, Shab. 13b, ARN 1, etc. Cp. Zeitlin. Halakhic considerations played an important role in this struggle.

48) Daniel is according to some sources not a prophet. The place of the Book of Daniel in the Hagiographa seems to be responsible for this view (Cant.R. 7.8, Sanh. 94a, Meg. 3a). Cp. also Ginzberg Vi, p. 413, n. 76. For these sources a special category of prophets exists, viz., of those prophets who were honoured by being accepted in the second part of the canon. They are the real prophets. Or we have to admit that these statements were not aware of or did not accept the Holy Spirit theory of the Rabbis. This latter assumption is, however, not very probable.

49) Tanh. Tsav. 13; Sanh. 30b, etc.

50) Tanh. Vayar; PR 12a, etc.

51) Mekh. on Ex. 15.20; j Makk. 31d; ARN 34, p. 102, etc.

52) Mekh. on Ex. 12.1, etc.

53) Cant. R. on 8.6; Ex. R. 28.4; Tanh. Jithro 5.

54) Ant. VI, 166, 222; IV 118f., X 250; VIII 408, etc.

55) There are no proofs for Abelson's assertion that שרא means "emanation" (p. 286).

56) S Deut. 22; Mekh. 12.36, 15.9; j Sukkah 55a, Cant. R. on 2.5, BB 134a, Sanh. 11a, Yoma 73b, ARN A 30, p. 90, etc. היתה על is rare (MRSJ on 12.1).

57) referring to Num. 11.26, II Ki. 3.15, Is. 11.2, Jer. 45.3, etc. Mekh. 12.1, Num. R. 10, Targ. Jer. 45.3.

58) just as it is the case in biblical texts, cp. the dictionaries.

59) cp. Ch. IV; cp. Tanh. B Nasso 17, Tanh. Lekh L'kho 20.

60) Gen. R. 23; parallels, etc.

61) cp. Ex. 35.31; Ps. Philo 18.11; Eccl. R. 11.3; Num. R. 13.

62) Eccl. R. 11.3.

63) Halliday, p. 125f.

64) de spec. leg. IV 49, quis rer. div. her. 259f., 263-66, de gigan. 31, leg. alleg. III 71, quaest. in Gen. I 90. Cp. Luke 1.41, 1.15-17 (πλησθήσεται), Acts 2.4, probably belonging to the Hellenistic heritage in the New Testament, cp. Leisegang II, p. 23.

65) cp. the end of this chapter and Ch. V.

66) Jos., Bell., p. 354, cp. Schlatter, p. 22. Cp. in Ch. V the prophecy of the embryo and the dying one.

67) Siphra 1.9; Gen. R. 85; Midr. Sam. 19, #5, etc.

68) Gen. R. 75.8; Cant. R. 2.1, end; jTarg. Gen. 37.33; Tanh. B Mikets 9, etc.

69) Arakhin 15b, (author: Aha b. Hanina), to eradicate, exterminate in the Holy Spirit; Gen. R. 36, to assemble; Sed. Ol. 1, to call, name. The expression "they sanctified themselves in the Holy Spirit", MRSJ, pp. 6-7, is probably nothing else than a tautology in a late, medieval formulation.

70) a tautology; PR 128b, etc.

71) This is in all probability the right translation. The idea is not so much that a prophet speaks "by means of" or "through" the Holy Spirit, as he is thought of as almost one with the element of prophecy. Furthermore, this inspirational element can hardly be conceived of as a mere instrument. There are, however, some cases in which the formulation speaks of the instrumentality of the Holy Spirit. In these cases the preposition ב is used. A book or words are spoken or revealed (התגלה) "in the Holy Spirit". (S Num. 88; Tos. Yad. 2.14; Midr. Sam. 7).

72) Ant. IV, 6.5.

73) Lam. R. on 3.49f.; Samuel b. Nachman sees in Is. 32.15 and Lam. 3.49 the Holy Spirit; Targ. Is. 44.3; cp. the Rabbinical use of Joel 3.1 in Ch. II; cp. Zech. 12.10.

74) Meg. 14b, 15a, cp. I Chr. 12.18, II Chr. 24.20.

75) Lev. R. 8.2, Sotah 9b, jSotah 17b, cp. Gen. R. 4.4.

76) jSukkah 55a; Gen. R. 70.9, Joshua b. Levi.

77) Leisegang, op. cit. p. 113ff.

78) ibid., p. 236f. 79) cp. Ch. IV.

80) Lev. R. 1.1; Deut. R. 11; Num. R. 10.5; Ps. Philo 12.1; Acts 2.3-4.

81) cp. Strack-B. II, p. 603.

82) Tanh. Vaethhanan, "the Holy Spirit cooled off" (נתקררה רוח הקדש).

83) de gigan. 6, cp. Theodoretus on Num. 11.17 according to Ginzberg VI, p. 88, n. 479.

84) Tanh. Behaalothekha 22; B 12.

85) Ps. Philo 18.11.

87) PRK 75b; Lev. R. 4, etc. Tanh. passim.

88) כל הפרשה ערובי דברים. מה שאמר זה לא אמר זה וזה שאמר זה לא אמר זה.

89) cp. especially the Rabbinic exegesis of Cant. in the Targumim and Midrashim.

90) A Christian example: Justin, Dial.36, on Ps. 24.

91) esp. in Lam. R.

92) ARN, addition II to Recension A, p. 156.

93) MRSJ, p. 60, (רוח הקדש משרת ואומרת).

94) MRSJ, p. 65, (היתה ר"הק מעידה עליו).

95) Lam. Z. on 1.1, 1.3, ARN, A 4, p. 20, Some of these and the aforementioned formulations may be of a somewhat later period.

96) cp. below.

97) Cant. R. on 5.11; Simon b. Jochai, Joshua b. Korcha, Eleazar b. Abun. Sanh. 94a; Midrash on Moses' Death, Jellinek I, pp. 115-29.

98) Cant. R. 8.12.

99) so esp. j Makk. 31d, Phinehas b. Chama, 360 A.D.

100) Tanh. Vayar, passim; B Shemini, passim; B Shlach 23; Lev. R. 4; Lam. R. 1.9, etc. Cp. Bacher's Terminologie, (צווחת).

101) Bousset, Religion, p. 315, n. 4 counts the following "precursors" of the Rabbinic "Heavenly Voice"; Dan. 4.28, I En. 65.4, II Bar. 13.1, 22.1, IV Ezra 6.13ff.

102) cp. Strack-B. I, 125f.; R. Simon b. Lakish, Ex. R. 29; Cant. R. 1.3. Cp. Tossaphoth (the commentary on the Babylonian Talmud) on Sanh. 11a.

103) if we see in the term bath kol a parallel to expressions like בן אדם , בת יענה , etc.

104) Bell. VI, 299, Ant. XIII, 10.3.

105) e.g., jSotah 24b and parallels.

106) 200 B.C.? jSotah 24b.

107) ibid. and Josephus, Ant. XIII, 10.3.

108) Tos. Sotah 13.3f. 109) Erub. 13b, etc.

110) Meg. 3a, Jeremiah or Hiyya b. Abba, 320, 380 A.D.

111) Tos. Sotah 13.4.

112) Tos. Sotah 12.2, jSotah 24b and parallels.

113) Yoma 9b; jShab. 8d; Cant. R. 8.9; BM 59b (Tannaitic, אין אני משגיחין בבת קול).

114) Cant. R. 8.10, Hunya.

115) Cp. Ch. V. Lam. R. 2.2; Midr. Sam. 3.4, 6b; S Deut. #357; Sanh. 94a, etc.

116) Meg. 32a; j Shab. 8c.

117) Kethuboth 77b; Midrash Vayosha, Jellinek I, 35ff., Sotah 2a; Erub. 13b, etc.

118) jSotah 24b, bSotah 35b, Cant. R. 8.9, etc.

119) cp. Ch. V.

120) a few longer utterances in Hag. 13a, 14b, Jochanan b. Sakkai; Apoc. Bar. 13.1ff.

121) Volz, Geist, compares the cry of the Holy Spirit with that of the demon-ridden in Mark 5.7.

122) cp. Strack-B. I, 126.

123) Tanh. Vayar 23, inhibiting the killing of Isaac; Midr. Ps. 93.4, #6, to Hadrianus, and many more.

124) also in connections with court sessions, cp. below and j Targ. on the story of Tamar, Gen. 38.

125) the promise of a share in the world to come: jHag. 77a; jKilayim 32b; Makk. 9a; Gittin 57b; Ber. 61b; Ab. Zarah 17a, etc.

126) Sanh. 39b; RH 21b; Hag. 14b, Tos. Sotah 13.3ff., and many more.

127) Hag. 15a; RH 21b.

128) R. Eleazar, Makk. 23b; Midr. Ps. 72.1, #2; Eccl. R. 10.16, and many parallels.

129) jHer. 48c, Joshua b. Levi.

130) Tos. Sotah 13.2, Sanh. 11a.

131) Cant. R. 8.10, Sotah 48b.

132) Cant. R. 8.9f.

133) S Num. #102; Tanh. Tsav 13; Num. R. on 14.19ff.

134) Num. R. 15.21; 17.2, etc.

135) Midr. Sam. 6b; Sotah 2a, etc.

136) cp. Note 101.

137) Matth. 3.17; 17.5; Mark 1.11; 9.7; Luke 3.22; 9.35; Acts 9.4, 7; 10.13, 15; 11.7, 9; 22.7, 9; 26.14; John 12.28; Revel. 10.4,8; 14.13.

138) biblical: the Ruh in II Ki. 22.19ff.

139) Lev. R. 6, R. Aha, 320, Dt. R. 3, Hiyya b. Abba, 280.

140) Cant. R. 8.9f. 141) 5.14.

142) 9.36, 40ff.; 11.4, 33.

143) I Ki. 13.18; Ez. 40.3; sl. Enoch 22.11f., Jub. 1.27; 2.1; 32.21.

144) Bel, 36; syr. Enoch 3.1; gr. Baruch 2, sl. 3.

145) Sanh. 105b and PR 12af.; also Josephus Ant. XV, 5.3, Acts 7.53, Hebr. 2.2, Gal. 2.2, etc.

146) Michael as proclaiming God's announcements like the bath kol in PR 142a-b.

147) for different meanings of ruah: Gen. 6.3; Ex. 10.13; Num. 11.31; I Ki. 22.21; Ps. 51.12; Eccl. 1.6; 12.7; Job 8.2; 41.8, etc.

148) Mekh. 12.36; 14.13; MRSJ, p. 3, etc. Quite frequently in Tanhuma.

149) Cp. Rankin, p. 222ff. 150) Hennecke, p. 54.

151) 4th deed, ibid., p. 268.

152) Hilgenfeld, Ketzergeschichte, p. 254, cp. below on the Holy Spirit as a dove.

153) Book of Elhasai, Hennecke, p. 424.

154) In traces already in the biblical account: Num. 11.25; II Ki. 2.9.

155) like רוח יהוה נפלה עלי (Ez. 11.5), רוח יהוה צלחה עליו (Jud. 14.6, 19; 15.4; I Sam. 10.6, 10, cp. I Sam. 18.10, 16.13), רוח [מן] (II Ki. 19.7), מן הרוח אשר עליו (Num. 11.25), etc. 155a). These two poles of the conception of the Holy Spirit in their contradictory character have been taken over, to a certain extent still unharmonized, by medieval Jewish thinkers, especially by Jehudah hallevi, cp. Wolfson, p. 50.

156) Volz, Gathas, p. 340ff.

157) a story on Jossai b. Halafta, 150 A.D.

158) Tannaitic, story on R. Joshua, 90 A.D.; the parallel, Tos. Hag. 2.5, speaks of an eagle, Gen. R. 2.4 of a bird, cp. j Hag. 77a.

159) the latter example is missing in Strack-B. I 124f.

160) e.g., Samaritan adherents of Dositheus and Simon Magus, cp. Volz, Geist, p. 181, quoting Hilgenfeld's Ketzergeschichte, p. 155. On the theology of Isis in Palestine cp. Reitzenstein's Poimandres, p. 44.

161) Apollo's love caused the prophetic gift in Branchos; cp. the birth of Dionysos from Semele and Zeus, Leisegang II, p. 41ff. Cp. Halliday, pp. 80-83.

162) Jer. 29.21ff.; Sanh. 93a; Tanh. Vayikra 6; PRE 33, etc.; cp. also Gaster's Exempla, Index.

163) According to Origen and Jerome, (Epistola ad Africanum; on Jer. 29), quoting a Jewish tradition, the prophets assured the woman (women) that she (they) would be the mother of the Messiah, cp. Ginzberg VI, p. 426, n. 106.

164) demonstr. ev. VII 96, cp. Leisegang II, p. 41.

165) Cp. Leisegang II, p. 33. Cp. Reitzenstein, Poimandres, p. 220ff. As to gnostic texts which might suggest such an idea cp. Hennecke, p. 432.

166) Brandt, Mandaeische Schriften, p. 40, quoted by Leisegang II, p. 43.

167) Lev. R. 6.6, Meg. 15a, etc. R. Jochanan and others.

168) Tob. 4.12; Acts 3.25; Tos. Pes. 4.8 cp. Pes. 66b, j Shab. 17a (Hillel, 20 B.C.).

169) MRSJ, p. 3; Midr. Cant. Z. on 1.1, etc. Reitzenstein, who does not know the Jewish sources, gives similar examples from Egyptian prayers, cp. Poimandres, p. 223, n. 3. Strack-B. do not know these sources (I 627).

170) Amos 7.14; Erub. 63a; Midr. Ps. 1.3, #19; Yeb. 121b; Ber. 34b; all of them on earlier Tannaim, Tannaitic.

171) Paul is a "Pharisee, son of a Pharisee", cp. "a miserable one, son of a miserable one", Tanh. Vayar 23. Four such titles in MRSJ, p. 61.

172) Sotah 9b, Lev. R. 8.2.

173) Tanh. Vayar, cp. Ch. I. PR 12a; Ps. Philo 28.6, etc.

174) cp. below and also Ch. V.

175) e.g., Agg. Ber. 34, p. 69.

176) Eccl. R. on 8.8, R. Nehemiah, quoting Eccl. 8.8 and Jer. 20.9 (אין אדם שליט בנוח); Midr. Lam. Z. on 1.2, cp. Midr. Tann. 15.

177) Ant. IV, 6.5; 8.49.

178) XII 297; XI 523, cp. Bevan, p. 136f.

179) Tanh. Tsav 13. 180) Cp. Ch. IV.

181) cp. Ch. IV, translations.

182) biblical: Samson, Jud. 12.25; Ezekiel's translations; Amazai, I Chr. 12.18; Elijah.

183) cp. Ch. IV. 184) cp. Ch. V.

185) de div. I, #31. 186) Midr. Ps. 45.1, #4.

187) Eccl. R. 11.3.

188) Gen. R. 85.2. Aha. Many examples.

189) Baraita in Midr. Ps. 24.1, #3, Pes. 117a, jSukkah 55a; Erub. 63a, etc.

190) Midr. Ps. 24.1.

191) ibid., ARN A 30, p. 90, etc. After the song of Serach, the daughter of Asher, announcing that Joseph is still alive; PRE 37, Onk. and j Targ. Gen. 45.27.

192) jSukkah 55a, R. Isaac, cp. PR 1b, Joshua b. Levi.

193) cp. Ch. II.

194) PR 12a.

195) Luke 1.41.

196) Leisegang II, p. 49.

197) Gen. R. 91.6.

198) Gen. R. 65.4, Joshua b. Levi, גרם להורו למלך מחנו ר"ה (according to a variant reading).

199) Gen. R. 65.4, main text.

200) Tanh. Vayehi 6; PR 11bf.

201) 11th commandment, 3.1.

202) cp. Ch. II.

203) above all the Torah, BB 14a.

204) BB 14a.

205) 1.9, 3c.

206) BB 14a; Midr. Ps. 121.4, #3.

207) Hag. 14a.

208) On Isaiah: Yeb. 49bf.; Elijah and Jonah: Mekh. 12.1; cp. Eccl. R. on 1.1: the books of Jeremiah, Amos and Ecclesiastes are called "The Words of Jeremiah", etc. and are not attributed to God as God's words, since they contain reproaches to Israel.

209) jBer. 11c; Yoma 69b; Midr. Ps. 19.1, #2.

210) Sed. Ol. 15; Solomon's early books are different from his later ones; R. Isaac, Sanh. 89a, Cant. R. 1.1; cp. below.

211) Sed. Ol. 20; BB 12bff.; Meg. 14aff.

212) cp. Ch. I, end.

213) Sed. Ol. 21, Meg. 14a.

214) Cant. R. 4.11, R. Chelbo.

215) Lev. R. 2.3, Targ. I Sam. 1.1.

216) Tos. Sotah 12.5; Sed. Ol. 21, Meg. 14a (Baraita); Cant. R. 4.11, etc., R. Samuel b. Isaac, R. Jochanan and R. Chelbo, many parallels.

217) PR 153b, Jacob from Kephar Hanan.

218) Tos. Sotah 12.5.

219) PRK 128b, Hanina b. Idi, third century; Sed. Ol. 20.

220) Midr. Agur, 111.24ff. 221) ibid.

222) PR 153b, many parallels.

223) Sukkah 27b, R. Eliezer, 90 A.D.

224) Sed. Ol. 21.

225) Cant. R. on 3.6, Simon b. Jochai, etc.

226) Sed. Ol. 21. 227) Lev. R. 1.12., R. Isaac.

228) Tanh. Balak 1; B 1. 229) cp. Ch. I.

230) Tanh. Emor 2; B 4 (הנביאים [כל] יבין של), jHag. 77a, etc.

231) cp. Ch. IV. 232) cp. Ch. II.

233) Lam. R. on 2.3. 234) MRSJ, p. 170f.

235) cp. also Gen. R. 44.6 on Abraham.

236) MRSJ, ibid.

237) cp. Mekhilta on the Song at the Red Sea and Dt. R. on 2.1 (Hoshaya).

238) S Num. 95, on 11.24ff. 239) Sed. Ol. 21, Meg. 14a.

240) S Num. 95, on 11.24ff.; Ex. R. 2 on 3.3.

241) Agg. Ber. 14, p. 32.

242) ibid. and parallels, cp. Lev. R. 15.1 and 2.

243) S Num. 103, on 12.6; Lev. R. 1.14.

244) cp. Ch. V.

245) S Num. 103, on 12.6; Lev. R. 1.14.

246) Lev. R. 1.13; Esth. R. 7.24 on 3.14.

247) Sukkah 45b, Sanh. 97b.

248) Mekh. 15.2; PRK 111b. According to Tanh. Tsav 13, however, Ezekiel said everything he saw, and did not suppress certain things, as Moses and Samuel did.

249) MRSJ, p. 170f. (כמו [כל]). Midr. Agur, p. 116.1.

250) 10 such terms in ARN 34, Sed. Ol. 20, etc.

251) jSanh. 30b.

252) Eccl. R. 3.18; Num. R. 14.10; Ex. R. 32.3.

253) Lev. R. 1.13; Esth. R. 7.24; S Dt. #357; Midr. Tann. p. 227f.; Gen. R. 52.5; 74.7; Num. R. 20.1; Dt. R. 2.4; Midr. Agur, p. 120.10ff.

254) Num. R. 14.20; Midr. Agur, loc. cit. In the latter source this idea has been generalized and applied to all the heathen prophets. For more sources cp. ibid.

255) Sed. Ol. 21; Num. R. 20.1; Tanh. Balak 1; B ibid.

256) Num. R. 20.1; 14.20.

257) Sed. Ol. 21; Lev. R. 2.9, Simon (b. Gamaliel?).

258) Sed. Ol. 21. Var.: "prophets in the world".

259) BB 25b. Job bears frequently the title: "the most righteous amongst the Gentiles", e.g., Esth. R., Proem 10.

260) cp. Ch. V.

261) Lam. R. on 2.3.

262) cp. the end of the Midrash. They may be thought of as Israel's arch enemies or as sorcerers, but not without a prophetic touch. They act here as "prophets".

263) together in Midr. Hagg. on Lev. 26.9.

264) PR 1b, Phinehas b. Chama hakohen, PRK 11b, Aha.

265) PRK VII; S Dt. 43 on 11.16, on R. Akiba; S Dt. 148 on 18.20.

266) S Dt. 43; Sotah 12bf., etc.

267) Matth. 1.22; 2.15, 17, etc.

268) cp. Strack-B. I 74f.

269) Sed. Ol. 29.

270) for homiletical reasons, Sanh. 39b, R. Eleazar.

271) S Dt. 148.

272) Justin, Dial. 7.2.

273) ARN 34, etc.

274) Ecclus. 46.15, 48.22.

275) Sanh. 89b.

276) S Dt. 43; PRK XIII.

277) Mekh. 19.9; Sanh. 89b; Schlatter, Josephus, p. 106.

278) שגה , Sanh. 90a, R. Jochanan. Death penalty on disobedience prescribe Ez. 18.4; j Makk. 5a; Yalk. Shim. Ps., #702.

279) cp. Fascher, p. 207; Josephus uses also πλανοὶ ἄνθρωποι

280) beginning with Jeremiah, e.g., 23.14, cp. Rad's article. II Bar. 66.4; Sap. Sal. 14.28; S Dt. 178 on 18.20.

281) Num. R. 10.5; Yalk. Shim. Is. #485 on 56.10. Cp. Celsus' verdict in Origen's Contra Celsum 7.3, 9.11.

282) MRSJ, p. 157 on Dt. 23.13; Mi. Sanh. 11.1ff.; S Dt. 177 on 18.19; Lam. R. on 1.19.

283) Lam. R. on 1.19; Tos. Sotah, p. 300f.

284) Ruth R. Pr. 5.

285) like Balaam. Sanh. 106a, R. Jochanan. Quite a long list in S Dt. #177 on Dt. 18.19.

286) Various punishments in S Dt. #177; Mi. Sanh. 11.1ff.; Palestinian Talmud hereon; Tos. Sanh. 14.14ff.; Sanh. 89a.

287) Targ. Cant. 7.1.

288) Dt. 13.2ff., Ps. Philo 37; 34.1-5; S. Dt. 84; cp. Sanh. 90a and S Dt. 84, Baraita, R. Jossai ha Gelili and R. Akiba. On Balaam: Philo, de vita Mosis 1; Ps. Philo 18.11; Targ. Num. 24.11, etc. R. Jochanan in Sanh. 103bf. (on the prophets of Baal).

289) cp. n. 288. Cp. Leclercq I, p. 92ff. for Christian beliefs. Naboth's spirit seduced Hanaiah, cp. Ch. V.

290) Raba's remark that Exekiel, being a village dweller, saw the king only once, whereas Isaiah as a city dweller say the king all the time, is a simile only, not a critical remark (Sanh. 89a, Hag. 13b).

291) jBer. 11c, R. Phinehas; Cant. R. 1.1.

292) Cant. R. on 4.16; 6.3; Gen. R. 41.3; 70.14; Sed. Ol. 21; Ex. R. 32.3.

293) BB 14bf.

294) ibid. 15a.

295) Lev. R. 6.

296) cp. below.

297) Mekh. and MRSJ on Ex. 15.9. The true beginnings of some books are: Lev. 9.1; Is. 6.1; Jer. 2.2; Ez. 2.1 or 17.2; Hos. 10.1; and Eccl. 1.12.

298) e.g., all the prophets described Israel's oppression as one; Hanina b. Chama, Midr. Ps. 18.7, #11. Their words are similar (שוו"ל); Tanh. Haazinu 2; B 2.

299) סגנון אחד עולה לכיתה נדא"ם ואין שני נגא"ם נתנגא"ם בסגנון אחד

R. Isaac, Sanh. 89a, Shab. 102b, compares Obadiah 1.3 with Jer. 49.16. Tos. Eduy. 1.1: שלא יהא דבר מידני תורה דומיה לחבירו. Cp. in Sukkah 52a the seven names of the evil impulse and similar observations.

300) S Dt. 83 on 13.2, Tanh. ibid. (Haazinu).

301) S Num. 103 on 12.6; Meg. 3a.

302) Hiskiah b. Hiyya, Midr. Ps. 1.1, #4, many parallels, (חזקיה , cp. Hos. 12.11). Cp. Gen. R. 27.1, Theodor's remarks. Cp. Bacher, Amoraeer I 54; III 191. Cp. also Tam. 29a, Hullin 29a, R. Ami. Cp. Jehudah b. Simon in Gen. R. 27.1. Examples for anthropomorphisms (according to the Midrash): Ps. 84.12; Amos 3.8; Ez. 1.26; Dan. 8.16; Eccl. 2.21.

303) הרואין את העין מה שיכולה לראות ומשמיעין האוזן מה שיכלה לשמוע

ARN, A2, p. 13; Midr. Ps. 1.1, #4. Cp. R. Ismael's principle:

304) Tam. 29a, R. Ami. (גוזמא).

305) Tanh. ibid.

306) S Num. 153 on 30.2.

307) ARN, A 34, p. 102, B 37, p. 95.

308) Gen. R. 52.5.

309) Gen. R. 9,16; PR 12a; Ber. 5b; Meg. 15b, etc.

310) Gen. R. 65.4; PR 11bf., etc.

311) the Hebrew term being fully identical with the Anglo-Romance "to cease" in all its ethymological implications. Mekh. 20.19, etc. (for "prophecy"); Tos. Sotah 13.2 (for the Holy Spirit); Tanh. B Behaalothekha 22 (a niphal form is used, ibid.12).

312) Gen. R. 60.3, etc. 313) Tanh. B Mikets 6.

314) PR 23a; 150a; 158a, etc. Tanh. B Bemidbar 13, etc. Also: "this is what the Scriptures said in the Holy Spirit through Solomon" (PR 26b, etc.).

315) cp. Strack-B. II, 1.

316) Cp. Bacher's Terminologie. Cp. Strack-B. IV, p. 445.

317) usually הנבא ; Mekh. 15.17, 20; jTaan. 69a, etc.

318) S Dt. 1; BB 14a, etc.

319) repeatedly in Mekh. 12.1.

320) S Num. 103, etc. 321) PR 12af.

322) cp. Ch. IV.

323) S Dt. 1.6, #5; PRK 126a. This and the Holy Spirit idea combined in Siphra 1.9.

324) cp. Fascher, esp. p. 167.

325) cp. Strack-B., passim.

CH. IV

GNOSTIC, MYSTIC, AND APOCALYPTIC CONCEPTIONS AND THE RABBINIC VIEW ON PROPHECY

Gnosticism and Mysticism have a characteristic feature in common, viz., a fervent urge, a holy curiosity, to gain knowledge of God and his mysteries. In Gnosticism the dominating principle is the attempt to gain salvation by access to the divine mysteries with the help of soteriological knowledge, acquired by revelation, meditation, or speculation, or by tradition and learning. In Mysticism, if a precise line of demarcation between these two religious attitudes can be drawn at all, the ideal aim is a sacramental or visionary union with the godhead. The apocalyptic literature, biblical and extra-biblical, both Jewish and Christian, may reflect traces of both types of piety combined with the striving after the secrets of the "Last Days", and based on an "emotional faith in final justice" (1). It will be the task of this chapter to show that there are wide-spread and far-reaching parallels to these trends of thought in the conception of prophecy in Rabbinic literature (2).

I

One of the features of these tendencies in

Rabbinic sources is the great role which vision plays as compared with the more "classical" Rabbinic conception of audition or inspired speech. According to these sources prophecy in the past, present, and future was, is and will be vision rather than inspired speech or audition of the divine voice. To be sure, the Holy Scriptures, the biblical apocalypses in particular, supplied a basis to this trend of thought in our literature. But what can be found in Rabbinic sources (not to speak of the apocalypses and their descendants) is much more than a reflection of Isaiah's , Ezekiel's or Zechariah's visions, or of biblical חזיון - prophecies. It can be said that to a considerable extent the classical idea of inspired speech or audition has found a rival in the conception of visionary prophecy, or has been amalgamated with it.

According to classical Rabbinic thinking the biblical prophet receives messages and commands and speaks in the Holy Spirit. In a great number of texts, however, he is also shown various phenomena and secrets by God; he "sees" in the Holy Spirit, or has visions and visionary dreams. Some similes which are used to describe the prophetic power speak of seeing in or through a mirror (3); the diviners and sorcerers of the nations "see". Prophecy as a whole is once called

עין יעקב (5). The highest goal of human religious experience in this or in the other world was to "see" God in his greatness and glory. And even God's omniscience is described in the terms of these visions; God himself, as it were, turns into a prophet and "sees" what there is in store for the world in the future (6).

These visions attain a very large number in the Midrash, especially in "Genesis Rabba" and the "Tanhuma" Midrashim in the Amoraic parts of these works, but are represented everywhere fairly well, including the Tannaitic portions of these and other Midrashim. The apocalypses, certainly, can claim a large number of visions. The tendency to increase the importance and number of visions which biblical and post-biblical prophets were believed to have seen seems to date back to pre-Tannaitic times, viz., to the latest part of the Scriptures, and reaches its height in the Amoraic period. Part of the increased significance of visionary prophecy seems to result from gnostic and mystical influences, since the material pertaining to visionary prophecy shows various gnostic motifs. The New Testament also contains numerous visions and speaks of "seeing" and "showing" (7). "The γνῶσις θεοῦ for which Christian and Pagan pray is less knowledge, but rather spiritual vision or experience" ("Schauen oder

Fuhlen") (8).

The prominence of this phenomenon alongside the classical view means that the spoken word, which usually or frequently contains a divine command or ethical teaching, has given way to the vision of things of a less dynamic character, i.e., not immediately appealing to the will and the sense of duty of the persons or groups concerned. It is the step from the revelation of commandments, laws, and moral precepts to the revelation of God's mysteries, i.e., the secrets of the cosmos, of the celestial realms, and of history to its utmost extension. The mysterious past and the remotest future have been anticipated or are pre-existent in God's secret decisions and creative acts. The idea of what the contents of prophecy are has thus changed to a certain extent. Historical, genealogical, eschatological details, to a higher degree than in the Biblical Scriptures; cosmogonic, cosmological, geographical, metereological, astronomical secrets; the mysteries of the Law and the cult, and the occult heavenly archetypes of earthly institutions furnish the contents of these visionary prophecies. The Rabbinic sources, in the narrower sense of the term, stress mainly the visions of single historical events and personalities as well as those of

the historical process as a whole in line with their usual emphasis on history. There are visions of liberators and oppressors, of the righteous ones and transgressors, of historical and eschatological reward and punishment and, finally, of objects of halakhic importance.

The contents of these visions are not ethical teachings. Emphasis is frequently laid on the revelation as such, on the fact that the veil before the divine secrets can be lifted. There is an almost palpable element of amazement at the miracle of revelation of hidden things, of remote places, of the events of past and future, or of the smallest details (9) of the revealed object. The ethical element is small in those visions also which reveal God's grandeur, majesty and splendour, his foresight and providence, and the approach and signs of the end-time.

Furthermore, the visionary does not bear the burden of responsibility towards God and His people like the biblical prophet (10). The "seer" is the spectator of an act of revelation rather than a bearer of an ethical message which involves ethical responsibility. His vision is mainly a privilege, an act of grace, religious ecstasy, not a calling to prophetic activity. His prophecy is not destined to be announced to the

public; in the apocalypses it has to be kept a secret until the "appointed time"; and in the Rabbinic writings, likewise, visions are often the prophet's personal knowledge, which he is not obliged to proclaim to others, as he receives this knowledge for himself or for posterity, not for his contemporaries. The visionary prophet is mostly passive; he is not a man of public activity (11). The testament literature presents its dying heroes as either prophesying to a limited circle, viz., to their sons and heirs, or as entrusting to them the summary of their experiences and former prophetic visions.

II

Turning to the contents of these visions in detail, we find that one of their prominent subjects is the revelation of the whole course of both past and future history. The appearance of the revelation of things past is a new feature. The traditional view that Moses is the author of Genesis presupposes this idea. Josephus, "c. Ap." I 7, mentions that the prophets have written the "original and earliest accounts of things as they learned them by God himself by inspiration" (12); and according to "Sotah" 46b-47a the

prophet is able to see the secrets of the past (13) and future (14). "Tos. Hag." 2.7, p. 234, has to discourage curiosity and speculation both with things past and things to come (15).

The vision of the whole course of history is usually represented by a wide-spread motif which deserves special attention owing to its great popularity and theological significance. The Midrash and some apocalypses ascribe to certain prophets or to all of them a vision of all the generations of Israel, of their representatives and leaders, their righteous and wicked, etc., from "creation to resurrection". The original account of this tradition is connected with Adam (16) and is a component of a Jewish variation of the "Anthropos" - myth, the Persian and gnostic myth of the "Primal Man" (17). Part of this tradition arises from the idea that all the pre-existent or pre-conceived human souls are assembled with the divine Primal Mah, that they have to come to life, and that after their death, - at least as far as the souls of the righteous are concerned -, they have to be re-assembled with the returning Anthropos, Saviour, Soter, Messiah, or Son of Man, before the final redemption can be ushered in.

Rabbinic expectation, too, centers around the idea that the pre-existent souls have to be used up

to bring the "appointed time", the "end-time", near (18). Adam and his vision of the generations or souls (which according to these passages he saw in his book (19) or passing by before him) is the Jewish variant of the Primal Man as the place or the master of the souls. The vision of all the generation in the Jewish sources, however, has not only been ascribed to Adam, the First Man, but also to Moses (20), the first redeemer (21) and, later on, to the apocalyptic prophets (22) and, finally (probably representing the latest stage of the development), to all the prophets (23).

But the variation of the Anthropos - myth goes still farther in the Jewish sources. The great or all the prophets have through their visions a foreknowledge of the number of the future generations and know, hterefore, the exact date of the redemption and the fulfilment of time, the aim of the apocalyptist's and the Rabbi's longing alike (24). The prophets are thus witnesses of the redemption to come; the great secret has been revealed to them. This is the meaning of almost all these visions of the generations. God's providence for his people may be an undercurrent, a secondary motif, in these passages. It finds expression in the mention of all the different representatives of the people, their teachers, prophets, kings, priests,

etc., whom God provided for his people. In one instance only the vision of the future generations is connected with the idea that Adam recognizes his great ethical responsibility towards posterity (25), another variation of this myth. The emphasis on the ethical quality of these future generations, however, the faculty of the seer to foresee whether they will be righteous or wicked, is a Jewish or Rabbinic touch in these passages, which have, nevertheless, in our opinion, preserved their esoteric character throughout the whole of our literature.

Other most prominent objects of these visions, which are ubiquitous in Rabbinic as well as in apocalyptic literature, are the events and personalities of future history. We will dwell upon this subject in the following chapter, as the marked increase in the number of visions (26) ascribed to biblical prophets in our literature compared with the number of biblically attested visions and prophecies seems to express a tendency of popular religion.

It is to be expected that in the centre of Rabbinic piety and interest visions of future Halakhah, or of heavenly archetypes or pre-existent forms of institutions of halakhic importance will occur. And, indeed, we find numerous Tannaitic witnesses of halakhic

revelations. The content of these revelations is Rabbinic; their form is apocalyptic. But the heavenly model of Jerusalem is a standing feature of the apocalypses as well (27). Visions revealing the Temple (for which Ezekiel set the example) (28) are closely bound up with piety centering around the sacrificial cult.

Some examples of halakhic visions may here be cited: Adam rejoiced at R. Akiba's Torah (29), saw scribes and members of the Sanhedrin, and R. Akiba study and expound the Scriptures (30); Abraham saw the Temple and the sacrifices (31), knew the laws concerning the Sabbath-courtyards (32), and the Halakhah of the Heavenly Court (33); Jacob saw the Temple, the sacrifices and the priests (34); the Patriarchs, Moses, David and Solomon saw the Temple built, destroyed and built again (35); Akiba and his expositions of the Law were shown to Moses (36), who also saw the candelabrum and the laws concerning the New Moon, the reptiles (37) and, according to others, the ritual slaughtering (38); "Pirke de R. Eliezer" 48 mention the vision of the Half-Shekel for atonement.

The visions of the prophets of our sources sometimes extend to certain distant localities which are of religious importance. Moses saw the whole of

Palestine (39), and so did Abraham (40). He and Isaac saw Mt. Moriah from afar by prophetic sight (41). The first man saw from one end of the world to the other (42), which capacity will be restored to the saved in the world to come. The same belief occurs in connection with David and with God Himself (43). Jesus saw all the kingdoms of the earth in a moment of time (44).

Another topic of visions is the future fate of the righteous and the wicked, of Paradise and Gehinnom, or a man's "place in Paradise" (45). The examples in the apocalyptic literature are too numerous for mention. But also Rabbinic sources favour this kind of vision (46). Abraham was supposed to have been shown Paradise (47); and also Aaron and Moses saw it (48). Most of the biblical prophets spoke of eschatological events and of Paradise and Gehinnom according to our sources, not only in those passages which we consider to be eschatological, but in many more which were interpreted in this sense.

Another group of these visions portray the celestial realm and God himself. This fact is too well known to need any further elaboration as to the apocalypses and the "Hekhaloth"-tracts with their עפ"י המרכבה, their "vision of the Throne-Chariot". In the Rabbinic sources we find hints that the esoteric yearning for a

vision, or, at least, mystical speculation permeated also the ranks of the Rabbis (49) so that in Jewish mystical literature they became the bearers of mystical revelation or were supposed to have ascended to Heaven or Paradise in their visions. A fortiori visions of God were ascribed to biblical figures: Isaac saw the Holy One and the innermost of the Merkabhah (50); Israel on the Red Sea saw God and, therefore, saw more than Isaiah and Ezekiel, who only gazed upon the likeness of God (51). Every man in his hour of death and the righteous in Gan Eden, the world of the souls; or after resurrection; or even before in the days of the Messiah (52), were believed to see the glory of God (53).

The high esteem of the vision can be judged from the remarkable fact that our sources sometimes speak of a vision, where we logically should expect an audition, cp. "Eccl. R." 1.27 : "All the blessings, good tidings, and consolations which the prophets saw". "Sifre Numeri" #103 and "Yalkut Shimoni on Numeri" #439 speak of מראה דבור , a "vision of the word". Quite frequently, the formula עפה ואמר , ".....saw and said", serves as a technical term to introduce biblical quotations.

This survey of the contents of the visions ascribed to the prophets establishes the fact that in

a large measure they present us with subjects of Rabbinic interest; but the review of all the generations, the vision of the past and future alike, and the fantastic details seen in these visions are signs of a close relationship to apocalyptic and gnostic thought. The vision of God and the celestial realm is common to Rabbinic and apocalyptic sources, but it certainly plays a more important role in the latter than in the former. The apocalyptic influence in the Rabbinic sources is, as a whole, most conspicuous in the speculative curiosity, in the stress of God's foresight and man's miraculous power of insight, and in the emphasis on visionary prophecy and, consequently, in the terminology employed for rendering the prophecies. This apocalyptic element is relatively less conspicuous in the content of the visions.

The verbs used to denote visions are usually ראה (55) or צפה (56) or their Aramaic equivalents חזי and צפי. The Aramaic חמי is much less common (57). All these terms are found throughout the whole literature and are usually applied to visions that are not mentioned in the Bible. The "Tanhuma" Midrashim are particularly rich in צפה, the Palestinian Talmud to a lesser degree. The "Mekhilta" prefers another term, which is usual throughout the whole Midrashic literature

and may refer to auditions as well, viz., שמע and its derivatives (58), another contribution from the increased sense of the "mystical". הביט (59), נבט (60), הסתכל (61), and חזה are rarely used. Nouns derived from ראה (63)for "vision" are rare, but numerous from חזה (64). חלום (65), חזיון , מראה are as a rule employed only when similar biblical expressions for prophecy and its bearers are used or quoted. In many of these passages the Holy Spirit is mentioned as the medium of the vision. But in a large number of cases the vision is recorded without the mention of the Holy Spirit (66). Here we have a stock of literary units or ideas which the Rabbinic attempts at consistent reshaping of older, popular, or foreign material have not fully brought under control.

III

The Holy Spirit has thus a rival in other ways of obtaining access to the realm of the divine mysteries. There is the idea that God Himself <u>showed</u> to the prophets certain objects, events and personalities of the past, present and future. The usual term for this type of vision is (ו)הראה , "HE showed him", "HE showed Isaac", etc. This type of revelation has,

apart from the object of the vision, not so much in mind the prophet in his state of possession by the Holy Spirit, but rather the prophet in a dramatic act, on the dramatic stage (68), which is such an essential requisite in the apocalypses and in the Midrash.

Some sources present the detail that God showed some prophets certain things "with his finger": certain ritual laws and objects to Moses (69), and the way to the Ark to Noah (70). Metatron showed R. Yishmael all the generations in the same manner (71). At times, this detail is used for the description of the visionaries themselves who are able to point at the revealed object with their fingers. In these cases this expression denotes the distinctiveness of their perception (72). In the days of the Messiah the righteous will point at God with their fingers (73), and so did the Israelites at the Red Sea, the living as well as the embryos in the bodies of their mothers (74).

Another medium of prophetic or miraculous sight is the Primordial Light, i.e., the light created on the first day, which possessed special powers, and enlightened the eyes of Adam to enable him to see from one end of the world to the other (75). Primal Man and Primal Light, which preceded the natural light of the

fourth day, belong together. Again, this idea has been transplanted to Moses (76). A version of this motif relates that God put strength into his prophet's eyes so that he saw the boundaries of the land and of the tribal districts (77). Enoch's eyes were opened for a vision in "I Enoch" 1.2, and the Christian author of "Ascensio Isaiae" 11.10 reports the same about Joseph.

There is still another entirely different principle of obtaining insight into the mysteries, viz., to move or be moved to the place of the secret. The possession of the quality of ubiquity falls into this category. Wisdom or the Logos according to the Stoics and Philo, the soul according to Platonic tradition, the Primal Man according to the Persians and gnostics are able to move or extend over the whole world and are, therefore, in possession of all secret knowledge. We find similar features in our sources. Adam reached once from one end of the world to the other (78) and received, as we saw, visions and knowledge. Similar statements are made about Wisdom in "Sapientia Salomonis" 8.1, 8. The human soul wanders through the world before man's birth (79) or in dreams (80) and learns many a secret, and so do angels and demons alike (81).

The same principle in a different garb is represented by another distinct feature of apocalyptic thought, the ascension of prophets to Heaven, Hell, or Paradise and their initiation into the mysteries of these spheres, usually under the guidance of angels. Adam is brought to the Paradise of Righteousness by Michael (82). Abraham ascends to Heaven, led by an angel (83), or translated through God's action (84). Moses ascends to Heaven for the reception of the Law (85) or before his death (86). Levi is translated in a dream (87), Enoch through the Spirit (88); Zephaniah (89) and others ascend (90) and are introduced into the heavenly mysteries. Metatron in "III Enoch", Jaoel in the "Apocalypse of Abraham", Uriel in "IV Ezra", Michael in "Vitae Adae et Evae" and in the "Elijah Apocalypse" (91), and other angels play the role of the celestial guide and tutor. We have here another instance of the increase of the belief in the importance of angels.

Many rabbis are supposed to have ascended to Heaven, e.g., Jishmael b. Elisha, "the High Priest" (92), Akiba in the Akiba Apocalypses (93) and together with three other Tannaim in "Hag." 15a, Eliezer b. Hyrkanos, Johanan b. Zakkai (94), Joshua b. Levi (95), the son of Joshua b. Levi in "Pes." 50a, Sabdai b. Levi

guided by Joshua b. Levi (96), and a pious man from Askalon (97). St. Paul knew a man who ascended to the Third Heaven which is Paradise (98). We have to conjecture that all these ascents were accomplished in a state of ecstasy, as "Gen. R." 2.17 seems to suggest (99). Bousset (100) asserts that our sources deal with genuine visions or experiences, whereas Scholem holds that mystical speculation is meant. The underlying theory, however, is the same for both opinions, viz., access to the heavenly mysteries is possible by miraculous intuition. However, this ascent to Heaven and descent to Hell and the mysterious translation from one place to another (101) may have developed into mere literary patterns, which were repeated again and again all through our literature and ascribed to all the heroes of revelation and apocalypse. It remained, however, a religious ideal and has been striven for by many (102). The technical term for this experience was עלה in the "Hekhaloth" literature, also ירד בפרדס (103), possibly "to enter Paradise" and to "plant trees" or "trim trees" as well (104). Bousset, in his book on the main problems of Gnosticism, offers gnostic parallels to this teaching and declares it to be a gnostic doctrine. The mystery religions knew various ways by which the mystic might rise above the

sun and the stars.

The descent to Hell is another way to obtain secret information or revelations by change of place. Enoch (105), Moses (106), and Jesus (107) descended there, the latter probably in order to preach there or save the righteous who died before their time, another application of the idea of the descent of the Saviour-Prophet, which had become a theological or merely literary device in the course of time for the biography of any great prophet. This descent is related of God Himself (108). If this passage is not dependent on the Christian idea of Jesus' deed, it may be called another instance of the attempts to ascribe to God the role of a prophet. The spirit of the unborn babe, finally, is led to Eden and Gehinnom by an angel according to "Tanhuma Pekude " 3.

A sudden miraculous translation to another place on the earth is often the way to obtain prophetic knowledge, as the biblical example of Ezekiel shows. "I Ki." 18.12 presupposes the belief in a prophet's sudden removal. These translations are accomplished with the help of the "Spirit", - i.e., they are of ecstatic nature; or the Spirit endows a person with supernatural powers -. Furthermore, a prophet may be translated by an angel, by Satan, or by the hyposta-

sized Spirit as in "Ez." 8.3. The Spirit removes Ezekiel (11.1) to the east-gate of the Temple, carries Elijah away in a dream (109), brings Zerubbabel to Ninive (110), and Habakkuk to Daniel's pit (111). In "Bel" 36 an angel carries the prophet to Babylon, in "Revel." 17.3 and 21.10 to a wilderness and a mountain ("in the Spirit") (112). Jesus is brought to Mt. Tabor (113), and to Jerusalem by the Devil (114), Philipp to Azotus by the Spirit (115).

The prophet or mystic, ascending to Heaven, may behold visions or receive revelations by means of the Celestial Curtain, פרגוד , or פרגוד של מקום , which "separates the Throne of Glory and its innermost mysteries from the other parts of the highest heaven and from the world of angels in general, just as the curtain veiled off the Holy of Holies in the sanctuary" (116). The prophet or angel may "hear from behind the Curtain" (117) the decisions of God's counsel, or know from, or see written down or represented in pictures on the Curtain all past, present and future events or generations. Originally, angels and spirits seem to have been the only ones thus privileged; they look behind the Curtain (118). Gabriel and Satan listen to decisions made behind the Curtain (119). "Pistis Sophia", p. 1, speaks of the first mystery, this "which is inward of the veil". Gallitsur-

Raziel hears divine decrees there; voices from there announce the answers to prayers (120) or the tribulations in store for the world (121). Moses sees on the Curtain the history of the exposition of the Law until Akiba (122). Metatron shows R. Yishmael past and future events recorded on the Curtain. In the "Zohar Hadash" (123) all the souls, drawn on a "painted curtain", are shown to Adam (124).

Some works of the aforementioned Rabbinic Adam-literature, featuring the vision of all the generations, speak of a book which God showed to Adam, or out of which God read to Adam (125). Resh Lakish, however, ("b Sanhedrin" 38b and many parallel passages) denies the existence of such a book and believes in a real and direct vision. Also Moses is shown this book according to "Ex. R." 40 and "Cant. R." 40.2. Reference to the book mentioned "Gen." 5.1 and "Ps." 139.16 is made in almost all these passages (126). These biblical verses may have been responsible for this new idea, which has changed in some instances the original idea that Adam saw a direct vision. This idea of a vision in a book, however, was in line with another wide-spread ancient oriental belief, viz., that revelation, secret revelation in particular, can be derived from heavenly books or tablets (127). This belief was strong amongst

the gnostics and apocalyptists, who knew numerous books, containing divine secrets, supposedly handed down from generation to generation (128).

IV

Not only the rise of the vision and the introduction of gnostic ways of access to the mysterium represent inroads of Heterogeneous thought into the classical Rabbinic conception of prophecy, but there are more instances for this phenomenon. The great prominence which Adam has acquired both in Rabbinic and apocalyptic thinking is partly due to the influence of a myth centering around the Primal Man, called "Anthropos"-myth by Reitzenstein, and traced back by Kraeling in his "Anthropos and Son of Man" and by others (129) to Persian origin. The Primal Man is a superman, a godlike being, a primal redeemer, who can boast of miraculous gifts and achievements. He is also a prophet. Certain qualities of the Primal Man, who in Jewish sources is Adam before his fall, have been ascribed to the second redeemer, Moses, to the last redeemer Elijah or the Messiah, and even to the Anti-Messiah or Anti-Christ, as has been shown by Murmelstein in his informative essay on Adam

(129a). We may add that Abraham as the first actual Jew, and Jeremiah as the last great prophet, and finally all the prophets as a distinguished category were supposed to have shared in certain aspects of his nature. One of these aspects, which Murmelstein failed to mention, will be dealt with below, viz., the belief in the supernatural or, at least, unusual strength and beauty of the great prophet. Certain features of this idea, however, may be of Hellenistic rather than of Iranian origin. All the characteristics taken from the description of the Primal Man and ascribed to the prophets form a certain contrast to the classical Rabbinic tendency to portray the prophet in his humanity, humility and shortcomings.

Adam's cosmic size has been mentioned before. He reached from one end of the world to the other (130), filled the whole world (131), or reached from earth to heaven (132). This Midrash is very popular and frequently quoted. Enoch, too, was of world-encompassing size (133). Moses is described as tall; and the Midrash generalizes that every prophet has to be of tall stature (134) and strong (135) as Moses. Miraculous tallness and beauty are ascribed to Moses by Josephus, "Ant." II 9.6, and Artapanus 436 c. Solomon of the "Testament of Solomon" loses the Holy Spirit, strength and wisdom by sin.

Another most striking quality of prophets, and of the first prophet Adam in particular, is beauty (136). All men were before Sarah like monkeys before men; Sarah was so before Eve; Eve before Adam; Adam before the shekhinah (137). There was a continuous process of decline of beauty from Adam to Jacob (138). Splendour and beauty are attributed by the Midrash (among other persons) mainly to Adam, Eve, Sarah, Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, Joseph, Rahab, Saul, Abigail (139) and Esther, all of them prophet(esse)s (140). Abraham and Isaac were equal in beauty, strength, wisdom, wealth, and noble deeds (141). Abraham was more beautiful, according to another tradition, than the children of the First Man, Seth, (Enosh), Kain, Mahalalel, Yered, Hanokh, Methushelah, Lemech, and Noah and his sons (142). Philo says of Abraham that the divine spirit invested his body with singular beauty, changed his eyes, complexion, stature, carriage, etc. (143). Malachi was called "angel" (144) on account of his beauty (145). The author of "Numeri R. " 10 generalizes this idea and claims that the shekhinah dwells on beautiful persons only.

All this may go back to the infiltration of the "Anthropos"-myth into Jewish thought. The Primal Man is sometimes called the "great, beautiful and perfect

man" (146). Kraeling and Kohut resp. hold that the ancient Iranian Gayomart or Yima served as the figure that aided the transformation of the biblical protoplast. But there is the Greek Branchos-myth, the figure of the beautiful prophet, borne by a virgin to Apollos, which may have strengthened the influence of the Anthropos features in the conception of prophecy in our literature, especially as we find also the ideas of immortality and of sunlike splendour, Apollos' characteristics, attached to the prophets. Many of the Hellenic and Hellenistic descriptions of epiphanies mention these particular traits of divine figures, as shown in the detailed article in Pauly-Wissowa's "Enzyclopadie" Suppl. IV, p. 314ff. Be this as it may, the connections with Iranian ideas are more numerous and closer in our literature.

Another motif in this transformation in the classical Rabbinic view of prophecy is the prophet's relation to the sun or to light. The Primal Man, in Jewish and in Iranian sources, is a radiating and shining being. His heels are like the sunball (147). He is the "light of the world" (148). Moses' face, likewise, resembles the sun (149). His countenance retained the brightness it received at Mt. Sinai forever (150). We have seen before that the reception of the

Holy Spirit was always thought of as being accompanied by light or fire. Leisegang (152) records that in the Dionysos-myth the fire plays a similar role. The Anthropos-myth seems to allude to the sun rather than to light or fire. The Messiah, who will bring back all the qualities man has lost, will restore also this radiance of his face, his cosmic size, his miraculous seeing power, his longevity, etc. (153).

The angels, too, are shining beings and, at the same time, perhaps owing to this very quality, inspiring awe and dread in man. Many Midrashim try to bring the prophet and angel into a close connection against the more classical tendency of Rabbinic thinking. In apocalyptic thinking Enoch, Elijah, Adam, and Moses have become angels or angelic beings in Heaven. But the prophet is an angel-like being on earth. The face of the Son of Man, a figure which has been conceived under the influence of the Anthropos-idea, is according to "I Enoch" 46.1 full of graciousness like that of holy angels; and according to "IV Ezra" 13.1ff. everyone trembles before his gaze. In Enoch's face, too, there was God's awe (154). Moses became like an angel after fasting and receiving the Word (155). All the prophets, and Israel in Egypt in possession of the Holy Spirit used to inspire dread in those who looked

upon them; everyone stood in awe of them because they resembled angels (156). A biblical text on which this idea could be based in the Midrashic exegesis was "Jud" 13.6, a passage in which Phinehas was believed to be the prophet who resembled an angel. The prophets, furthermore, were likened to angels or called angels in the Scriptures, as the Midrash asserts (157). To be sure, the "messenger"-conception, - both angels and prophets are executing God's decrees - plays a certain role here, but the tertium comparationis is often the majestic appearance of both prophets and angels as can be seen from the quotations of "Jud." 13.6 in many of these passages.

To a lesser degree heterogeneous, if at all, is the idea of the commanding appearance ascribed to the prophets. They are venerable figures (158). The messianic king of the "Testament of Levi", who is priest and prophet, has an "indescribable" or "unutterable" appearance like that of a high prophet (159). Jeremiah in the "First Book of the Maccabees" (160) appears as a venerable figure, whose dignity is enhanced by his grey hair. It is interesting to note that Cicero, too, mentions "white-haired" prophets in a quotation (161). To increase Abraham's honour, God grants him white hair and beard, introducing old age

into the world for the first time (162). Abraham becomes thus a "type", דוגמא (Greek δεγμα), an ideal pattern or a striking figure. He and David obtain the "Crown of Age" (163). Josephus describes the type of the Nazir rather than the figure of the prophet (164). The Orient has always been rich in prophetlike, venerable figures, who may have been the models for such a conception. But as the example taken from Cicero suggests- and this example may probably not be the only one in the Greek and Roman descriptions of the figure of the vates - , this characteristic of a prophet in our sources may perhaps be not entirely independent of a Hellenistic literary pattern.

Possession of wisdom was another feature of the Primal Man according to both Hellenistic and gnostic sources. Adam was full of wisdom (and perfect in beauty) (165). The connections between prophecy and wisdom were believed to be close; they were identical, as it were, as we have seen in the opening chapters. It is necessary to point out here again that part of this identification shows gnostic characteristics,

The idea that wealth is a criterion of prophecy seems to be a more indigenous feature in the Jewish sources. The Midrashic tendency to accumulate positive qualities on favourite persons in order to enhance their glory may be responsible for this idea. The memory of the

representative wealth of the aristocratic priesthood in the later period of the Second Temple may also be reflected in this idea. "Shabbath" 92b and "Nedarim" 38a, - the author is R. Johanan - make wealth a condition for the prophetic profession. The names of Moses, Samuel and Amos are given as evidence for this statement (166).

V

Gnostic sources not only emphasize that Adam received a pure and perfect divine revelation, but that all the Adamites, Noachides, and the early patriarchs as a whole have been great prophets. "The glamour of the celestial Adam had passed over" to his offspring (167), the early history of mankind being a climax of history and invested with many miraculous powers in the belief of the gnostics.

In the Rabbinic and apocalyptic sources we find a similar belief. The Patriarchs and Matriarchs are great prophets contrary to the Scriptures (169). This idea may be due to the Rabbinic tendency of enhancing the prominence of the actual fathers of Judaism. Adam (170), however, Noah, Shem-Melchizedek, Japheth (171), and Eber are prophets, too, in the Tannaitic and later traditions (172). Abel is a prophet in "Matth." 23.35 and "Luke" 11.5 (173) and according to a

kabbalistic tradition (174). The great prominence of Enoch in apocalyptic and post-amoraic Rabbinic literature is a well-known fact. Noah as a prophet plays a role in various apocalypses also (175), and according to the "Book of Jubilees" (176) and to Philo he is an inspired man (177). His father Lamech also is a prophet (178). A strange chain of personages, - probably all of them considered prophets, - who "rolled up", i.e., "outlived" the whole world and saw each other and learned "Torah" from each other, is quoted in "Seder Olam" 1 and parallels. It is Adam, Methuselah, Shem, Jacob, Amram, Ahijah the Shilohite, and Elijah, "who is still alive". Methuselah is in the opinion of the Midrash more or less a prophet, a composer of parables, a teacher, pious and humble (179). The number seven and the persons opening and closing the chain, viz., Adam and Elijah in their apocalyptic significance, suggest that "Torah" may be esoteric Torah, and that the chain may represent the chain of mystical tradition (180). Adam, Seth, Mahalaleel, Enoch and Shem were considered to be prophets as may be inferred from "Jub." 19.24 (181); and according to "II Enoch" 33.10 the antediluvians Adam, Seth, Enos, Cainan, Mahalaleel, Jared, and Enoch were composers of books. Islam, too, recognizes Adam, Seth, Enoch, Noah and Abraham as prophets (182). No wonder that the seven

shepherds who will assist the Messiah are David, Adam, Seth, Methuselah, Abraham, Jacob and Moses (183). But we have also one opinion directed against this prevalent view that the early patriarchs of mankind were the bearers of God's revelation, for one Midrash (184) asserts that God spoke to Adam, Noah and Abraham only, i.e., to every tenth generation. Ginzberg holds (185) that this opinion is anti-apocalyptic.

The idea that the first patriarchs of mankind have been endowed with prophecy is at times connected with another favourite idea of gnostic lore in the gnostic texts, viz., the idea of the one true great prophet, who has become incarnated and manifest in a series of prophets at different times. This divine prophet has first been revealed in Adam. All the later "prophets and messengers are diverse manifestations of a single power or person of the world of light" (186), or the Primal Man reincarnated (187).

The "Homilies" of Clement of Rome speak of Adam, Enoch, Noah, Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, and Moses (188), who are called the "seven pillars" (189), and represent the successive manifestations of this one true prophet. The last and highest manifestation of this prophet is Jesus Christ. The Holy Spirit in the "Gospel to the Hebrews" (190) addresses Jesus: "My son, in all the pro-

phets I longed for you"; and according to the Ebionites (191) and to Mandaic conceptions the "One-Born", "Unique" or "Beloved Son" is present in all the messengers (193). This celestial being sometimes possesses the Divine Name and is called "The Little" or the "Little Yao" to "denote him as an emanation from the inscrutable Deity"; and some Christian gnostic sources believe that he was last present in Elijah to re-appear in John the Baptist (193). One can easily understand that such an idea could lead to the recognition of the prophets of other religions. Manichean literature speaks of Adam, Seth, Noah, Buddha, Zarathushtra, Jesus, and Mani; some add Abel and Enos (194). In the Samaritan doctrine of the Taheb (195) Adam's soul passes into Seth, Noah, Abraham and Moses successively. Islam, too, recognizes foreign prophets: the prophets of the "people of the book", i.e., the Jewish prophets, John the Baptist, and Jesus, and sometimes speaks of a chain of seven prophetic manifestations of the one true prophet in founders of new religions, viz., Adam, Noah, Abraham, Moses, Jesus, Mohammed, and the future Mahdi (196). Heterodox sects recognize Persian and other prophets in addition (197).

The belief in the repeated incarnation of the one true prophet is traceable in Jewish mystical writings also. Adam, David, and the Messiah possess one

soul, incarnated successively in these three figures. Moses' soul - according to another mystical Midrash,- passed through Abel and Seth before (198). There is a kabbalistic equation, based on the Hebrew consonants of these names:

Adam means Adam plus David plus Messiah,

Moses means Moses plus Seth plus Abel:

Abel's soul passed through Jacob to Moses (199). Mystical sources attach a high theological significance to metempsychosis. It means to them a process of purification for the souls concerned (200). But the belief in the one true prophet is hardly traceable in the Rabbinic texts in the stricter sense. The identification of Phinehas with Elijah may be based on this doctrine, although this is nowhere stated expressis verbis (201). Some texts speak of the prophet of the age, probably giving expression to the thought that there is only one "official" prophet at a time (202). Josephus' διαδοχή (203), successio prophetarum, may have been influenced by this idea, which may trace back to or be connected with the passage "Dt." 18.15: ..."thy God will raise up unto thee a prophet". "John" 1.21, 6.14 and 7.40 seem

to speak of a similar conception, which is not necessarily eschatological.

A Rabbinic belief, viz., the idea that the messianic time or the "world to come" will re-establish the earth as it had been before Adam's fall has a parallel in gnostic thinking and is even a predominant feature there. Creation and Redemption are the same process (204). Both conquer darkness (205). The gnostic parallel may have encouraged and strengthened the Rabbinic idea of the re-establishment of prophecy in the "end-time" (206).

VI

Another permanent feature of the apocalyptic, gnostic, and also Hellenistic visionary literature has reached the realm of Rabbinic thought, viz., the idea that asceticism and self-mortification, are the adequate, necessary, and always effective preparation for a vision. The fact that Rabbinic thought as a whole is hostile towards far-reaching asceticism, especially towards sexual abstinence, makes this development the more remarkable. But fasting is also in Rabbinic lore a favourite way to obtain fulfilment of wishes (207). Be this as it may, popular oriental religion esteemed highly the anchorite

in the wilderness and the Nazir, and ascribed to them prophetic power. Also Greek religious thought, Platonism, Neo-Platonism, the Church fathers, the Stoa, the mystery cults, and Greek, Roman and Jewish magic literature (211) agree that asceticism may lead to prophecy or, at least, to wisdom (208). Whatever the theory may have been which backed up this practice - the experience that a mortified body is apt to receive visions; or the dualistic idea, favoured by the gnostics, that the body and its functions belong to the realm of impurity and have to be subdued and conquered, before the approach to the realm of the Divine, which is essentially purity, can be attempted; or the "scientific" explanation of the Stoics (209) that only moderation gives the human soul, as the bearer of reason and intellect, independence from the body to join the spiritual and divine sphere and communicate with the Divine Soul - all these theories serve one purpose, to establish firmly a generally accepted idea (210).

This propaedeutic asceticism plays a prominent part in the apocalyptic literature. Fasting of prophets is mentioned in "Dan." 9.3 and 10.2, in "IV Ezra" passim (212), in "II Baruch" passim (213), "I Enoch" 83.2, "III Enoch" 15 B 2, and seven fasts of R. Johanan b. Zakkai in "Jellinek" III, p. 131ff. Abraham has to abstain

from food prepared by fire, from wine, and from ointments for 40 days (214),-and Solomon for the same period -, in order to be endowed with the spirit of wisdom (215). The Pythagoreans, too, fasted 40 days to achieve the same aim (216). A most illuminative Rabbinic passage relates that Moses had to wait six days before receiving the Divine Word in order to digest first all food and drink and to become like an angel (217). This passage presents a slightly dualistic tinge, whereas R. Akiba's important statement that self-mortification should actually lead to the "Spirit of Purity" breathes Rabbinic piety (218). A biblical basis for this idea of fasting was rendered by Moses' action before the reception of the Law (219) on Mt. Sinai just as Israel's action rendered grounds for the practice of sexual abstinence (220).

The importance of sexual abstinence equals that of fasting. The rigid purity of the Pythia, or the Christian idea of the virgin prophetess (cp. Philipp's or Job's daughters (221)) appears in a slightly different form in Rabbinic literature, viz., abstention from marital intercourse (222), since the ideal in Rabbinism was not virginity but marriage. Moses practises marital abstention and incurs Aaron's and Miriam's reproaches (223). (Yehuda b. Bethera,

however, believed that Moses' attitude was caused by God's command (224)). Here and in the short notice of "Dt. R." 11.10 the dualistic theory seems to be prevalent.

The prophet was supposed to retire from ordinary life and live in solitude. This rule seems to have been practised by Jewish and Christian pneumatics, like the Baptist, Jesus, Hannah (225) and others. Philo and Josephus mention this prophetic solitude repeatedly (226). The Essenes were believed to have possessed the gift of prophetic power, but their fasting has hardly been inspired by the wish to obtain prophecies (227). In Rabbinic texts solitude and retirement from life before the reception of revelations are mentioned in connection with the story of Moses on Mt. Sinai. These sources stress his 40 days' fast (228). One should not underestimate, however, the influence of the figure of the biblical Elijah on all these trends of thought.

The behaviour of the heroes of apocalypses, frequently mirroring the preparation of the mystic to enter the ecstatic state by fasting, solitude, and fervent invocations have thus in part become a feature of Rabbinic sources. Another idea which is essential in theory and practice in mystic and gnostic circles

is not represented in our sources, viz., the solemn initiation of the prophet (229).

VII

The gnostic and apocalyptic sources and those influenced by them evaluate the prophet and his task much higher than the classical Rabbinic sources can afford to do owing to their emphasis on the Law. The prophet is in possession of the divine mysteries, a conception which plays an overwhelming role in the apocalyptic writings. To be sure, the quotations of "Amos" 3.7 and "Ps." 25.14, which speak of the prophets' knowledge of the divine secrets, are popular in Rabbinic writings, too, and there are numerous and frequently applied terms for the mysterium (230). But in the gnostic and apocalyptic movements the prophet is in possession of the greatest treasure man can strive for, the knowledge of the soteriological mysteries. This conception of the mysterium is the centre of these trends of piety.

In some of the Rabbinic texts and with Philo in particular, the prophet ranks above ordinary man; he has attained a higher grade of perfection (231) and power (232) and shares in the essence of the angels

as we have seen above. He is in his highest manifestations king, priest, and prophet simultaneously according to gnostic and Rabbinic[234] thinking alike. But in the Rabbinic system of thought the importance of the prophet is not as great as in the gnostic and apocalyptic sources, - Moses exempted, - and the prophet is thoroughly human.

The Hellenistic and gnostic idea of " ἐνθουσιασμός ", of God filling man in the state of ecstasy (248), is, in this particular form at least, missing in the Rabbinic sources, whereas Philo (249) and Josephus (238) are well acquainted with it. The Rabbis' emphasis on the significance of the spoken word and on the prophet's responsibility for his own utterances excluded a far-reaching belief in enthusiasm in its proper sense and, in a fortiori, ecstasy (250). There are, however, a few debatable allusions to ecstasy. In the opinion of the Targum, Saul's behaviour, "1 Sam." 19.20ff. betrays mantic characteristics, viz., ecstasy bordering on madness (251). "Sifre Numbers", however, sees no indication of ecstasy in a biblical passage which clearly presupposes this type of inspiration, viz., Eldad's and Medad's prophecy. Real ecstasy seems to be described in the midrashic reflection on the use of " תרדמה " in the Bible (252). Four forms of tardemah, trance, are discovered by the Midrash in the biblical narrative:

the trance of catalepsy (253), the trance of prophecy (254), of sleep, and ("according to the Rabbis") of madness. The "trance of prophecy", however, may have the prophetic dream in mind, not actual ecstasy, and "Gen. R." 16.5 and 24.17 do not connect tardemah with ecstasy at all. Ecstatic inspiration may be meant by the statement of "Midrash Ps." 90: "All the prophets prophesied without knowing what they prophesied, except Moses and Isaiah". The examples given as evidence for this assertion (255), however, and the formulation of the statement suggest an allusion to "coincidental prophecy" (256), viz., to the prophet's unawareness of the full meaning and significance of his own words.

There are also a few clear examples for the idea of ecstasy in Rabbinic sources. Adam's trance, mentioned "Gen." 2.21, is to "Seder Olam" 21 a certain proof of his prophetic power. David fell into the state of ecstasy under the spell of music and was then able to compose psalms (257). In one respect Bible, Rabbis, Josephus, and Philo agree, viz., that Balaam's prophecy, as pagan prophecy, was ecstatic mania (258). "A deep trance was cast", "Prov." 19.15, is interpreted as the increase of prophecy in Elijah's days by "Midrash Ruth R.", "Proem" 5.4. Some of the passages dealing with Adam's vision of the history of mankind (which

took place before he received his bodily shape) point out that he was "stretched out, a formless mass" (234). In view of the gnostic character of the whole complex of motifs in this story, this detail may allude to ecstatic vision. The adherents of mysticism amongst the Rabbis may have known theory and practice of ecstasy (237), and it plays a part in the "LXX" (239), in "Ps."Philo" (251) and in "Acts" (260).

Philo's doctrine of ecstasy as a higher and exalted form of prophecy may have been taken over by some Church Fathers from him rather than from his patterns, the Platonic and the Stoic theories. The prophet is the instrument of God and is without consciousness or without a will of his own (Justin); he is the flute of a flautist (Athenagoras)(261); or a raging maniac (the Montanists and Tertullianus) (262). In the middle-ages the Zohar still reflects knowledge of ecstasy in a fine description of this phenomenon. It is ascribed to all the prophets except Moses (263). Gabirol, "Fons Vitae", V 74 and Crescas, "Or Adonai", III, 6.2, show knowledge of ecstasy. The other Jewish representatives of medieval religious philosophy seem to renounce it.

Furthermore, the prophet is neither divine in the Rabbinic texts nor is he born of divine parentage

like many Hellenic and Hellenistic prophets. But he is not always mortal. It is the tendency of the apocalypses to grant to their heroes immortality; e.g., to Enoch, Moses, Jeremiah, Baruch, and Ezra (240). Even in Rabbinic sources we find Enoch, the two Messiahs, and Elijah among those who "entered Paradise alive" (241), and Jonah, Methuselah, and the three sons of Korah among those who "did not taste the taste of death" (242). We should not forget to mention that also the Iranian prototypes of the Anthropos, viz., the Primal Man and the Son of Man, are immortal.

It is interesting to note, however, that the description of the prophets in some of our sources resembles the presentation of the apparitions of gods, half-gods and heroes in Greek and Hellenistic legends. The superhuman element of the august apparition of the gods and divine men is emphasized in these legends. Splendour and brilliance characterize these epiphanies. Extraordinary beauty and tallness are ascribed to these gods and "god-men" (265). We can easily rediscover all these traits in the description of our prophets. A decision on the question of the interdependence of all these sources, however, can only be made for each individual motif. Some of these traits may belong to the

original stock of indigenous mythology, common to many peoples. But a certain approximation of the apocalyptic and gnostic prophet to a divine figure, although hidden and suppressed in the Jewish formulations, seems to have taken place in our sources.

The prophet may be called "holy" in a few instances in the Rabbinic texts (243), but this epithet was granted to any pious person (244), and means in the Rabbinic usage neither "tabu" nor "divine", but a certain degree of purity, piety and ethical perfection (245). However, in extra-Rabbinic sources Jewish and early Christian, the title "holy" for prophets is of not infrequent occurrence and seems to be closer to "divine" than to "righteous" or "perfect", e.g., in "Sap. Sal." 11.1, Philo's writings (e.g., de spec. leg. IV 105); "Assumpt. Mos." 11.16ff.; "Asc. Is." 9.2; 9.8; "Luke" 1.70; "Acts" 3.21; and "2 Peter" 3.2.

Summarizing we may say that it has been the task of this chapter to demonstrate that Rabbinic thought, as far as the conception of prophecy is concerned, has become widely permeated by gnostic and apocalyptic thought of whatever type and origin. There is no clear-cut division possible between Rabbis and apocalyptists (246). Foreign influence is strong in this

field of thought. In these centuries, Judaism, Christianity, and Paganism are subject to a strong "Weiterentwicklung" toward Gnosticism and Mysticism. In Judaism of the Rabbinic type this development has been somewhat slowed down and modified by counteracting tendencies (247), but has, nevertheless, produced new trends of thought of considerable strength and consistency.

Addenda et Corrigenda

Adam as a prophet.

Adam is a prophet according to Jos. "Ant." I 70 (he foresees the flood and a conflagration of the world); "Lekah Tobh" on "Gen." 2.10 (he names the animals in the Holy Spirit. This activity is usually believed to be the result of his wisdom, but not of his prophecy. On Adam as the primeval sage and Kulturheros cp. Staerk, "Erloesungserwartung", p. 12); "Targ. Cant." 1.1 and similarly"Midr. Cant." Z. (he sings a prophetic song like Deborah, Hannah, David, and others); "LXX Gen." 2.20 (he falls into prophetic ecstasy) and "3 Enoch" Ch. 5 (he sees the splendour of the shekhinah). Cp., furthermore, Philo, quis rer. div. haer. 52 and numerous examples in the patristic literature, e.g., Origen, de princ. I, 3.7; Jerome, "in Gen." 2.21; Aphraates 354; Tertullian, adv. Marc. 11, de anima Ch. 11, Ch. 43, etc.; Clemens Alex.,"Stromata 1.21, etc.; cp. Staerk, "Erloesungserwartung", p. 13, and Ginzberg V, p. 83, n. 30. Cp. "Koran" 20:120; 3:30.

Vision of God as a goal of religion.

Philo explains the word "Israel" as the "man who sees God", and so does the "Prayer of Joseph", probably an Alexandrinian gnostic work (Fabricius, "Codex

pseudoepigraphicus" V.T. 1713. I 761ff., cp. Schürer 4, III, p. 359f.)

The one true prophet.

A fine example is suggested by Ginzberg in JE IX, pp. 640-41 and in his "Legends", V, p. 12, n. 30. The seven pillars of the earth (cp. "Hag." 12b;"j Hag" 77a; "Leket" 8b; "Midr. Ps." 104, p. 442; "Seder R. di Bereshith" 11) are usually identified with seven pious men or prophets ("Alphabetoth" 103: the three Patriarchs, Moses, Aaron, David, and Solomon. The Clementine writings: Adam, Enoch, Noah, the three Patriarchs, and Moses). In one case, however, the number of pillars is given as one, called "Tsaddik" (the righteous one). This remark may presuppose the conception of the one true prophet who is the same at all times.

The prophet as an instrument of the godhead or the spirit.

The simile of the instrument is, furthermore, used by Plutarch, de Pyth. orac. (trumpet, lyre) and by Iamblichus, de mysteriis (cp. Bevan, "Sybils and Seers").

The unusual height of the prophets.

a) Adam's height.

According to "Gen. R." 58.8, cp. 19.8, Adam's height was 100 cubits even after his fall. About the tallness of the first men in Greek legends, cp. the article "Epiphanie" in Pauly-Wissowa's "Realencyclopaedie", Suppl. IV.

b) On Abraham as a giant.

Cp. "Test. of Abr.", "Tanh. Lekhx" 13, "Gen. R." 42.3, and "Sanh." 96a.

Transmigration of souls.

Jacob Tsebhi Querido was believed to have been a re-incarnation of the pseudo-Messiah Shabbetai Zevi (17th cent., among the Doenmehs, cp. JE IV 639).

The relation of the prophet to the sun (cp. p.217).

On Abraham's mythical relations to the sun cp. "Midr. Ps." 1.5; "PR" 96b; "BB" 16b.

The likeness of the prophets to God (cp. pp.234-235).

The Holy Spirit resting upon Israel caused the Egyptians to love and fear them like gods, "MRSJ" pp. 25-26.

On the magic impregnability of the prophets

Cp. addition to Ch. V.

Results

Rabbinic sources show numerous parallels to gnostic, mystic, and apocalyptic sources. In most cases these parallels seem to be the result of the contact of Rabbinism with these movements.

In sources of this nature vision has come into the foreground of interest and has become a favourite type of prophetic revelation. A speculative curiosity, the longing for initiation into the divine mysteries of cosmos, history, the future, and the upper world or the "world to come" characterizes this conception of prophecy more than the desire for the revelation of ethical or legal principles. The prophet is a privileged spectator, not an active messenger.

These visions frequently portray the mysteries of the past; the whole course of history from the beginning to its final consummation; the future fate of the righteous and of the wicked; remote localities of religious significance; and God and the celestial realm, even presenting at times fantastic details concerning their objects. The visions in Rabbinic sources in the stricter sense present objects which are close to Rabbinic interest, viz., heavenly archetypes of religious institutions and Israel's history. The use of certain formulae for the description of these visions has become

customary in midrashic literature.

All our sources refer to ways of obtaining access to the divine mysteries other than by inspiration through the Holy Spirit. God may show his objects to the prophet. The visionary may see by means of the Primordial Light. He or his soul may move or be moved to the place of the mystery; to heaven, to hell, or on earth. In heaven the prophet may glimpse at the Heavenly Curtain or the Heavenly Book, featuring world history and God's future plans.

Another resemblance of Rabbinic ideas to gnostic, mystic and apocalyptic ideas is the significance of the superhuman figure of Adam, who is endowed with various miraculous gifts, among them beauty, tallness, radiance and prophecy. The source of these resemblances seems to be the Anthropos-myth of probably Persian origin. Other features ascribed to prophets in these sources, e.g., the majestic appearance of the prophets and their possession of wisdom, have parallels in Hellenistic literature. All our sources stress the prophetic power of the Adamites, of the anti-diluvians and of the Patriarchs, enhancing in the gnostic way the lost glory of the beginning of world history and forecasting its re-establishment in the "last days".

In some of our sources we find traces of the gnostic idea of the "one true prophet", who became

successively incarnated in historical prophecy.

Like in mystic and apocalyptic sources fasting, asceticism and solitude are means to obtain a vision.

All our sources, in contradistinction to Rabbinic sources in the narrowest sense of the term, evaluate the prophet highly owing to his knowledge of the mysteries. He towers far above ordinary men in perfection, power and rank. There are even a few traces of the attempt to grant to the prophets immortality and certain godlike features.

The idea of ecstasy, so important in mystic sources, is also traceable in Rabbinic writings, but is neither frequently alluded to nor of primary importance.

NOTES

1) F.C. Burkitt, The Apocalypse: Their Place in Jewish History (in Judaism and the Beginnings of Christianity), London 1923, p. 63.

2) In the midrashic literature. But apocalypses like IV Ezra and II Baruch, not to speak of the later apocalypses, collected in Jellinek's Beth ha Midrash, are closely connected with Rabbinic thought. There was no "sectarian eccentricity" in them (Moore II, p. 343). Scholem, pp. 40-41, also traces the origin of the mystical doctrines back to Pharisaic circles.

3) cp. above, Part I.

4) cp. the following chapter.

5) Ex. R. 38.4, anon., the proof-text is Is. 29.10. עין means "eye" according to this interpretation.

6) cp. n. 56 and n. 58.

7) e.g., John 12.41, Acts 3.38, 7.55, 10.3, 10.10ff., I Cor. 13.12, II Cor. 3.18, Revel. 4.1,2, 17.1, etc.

8) Reitzenstein, Poimandres, p. 158.

9) Adam sees the number of steps any future man will make in his life (Seder Olam 30). Moses foresaw the boundaries of every single tribe (Midr. Tann. on Dt. 32.49, p. 206, author R. Yoshua) and all the minutiae of the Law (Meg. 19b, R. Yohanan), the measures of the sanctuary, and the number of offerings (Ps.-Philo 19.10). All this goes back to Tannaitic traditions. According to II Baruch Moses knew the number of the drops of rain, the weight of the winds, etc. (II Bar. 59.5).

10) Against Glatzer, Tannaiten, pp. 39-41.

11) But the prophets of IV Ezra and II Baruch and some other Jewish apocalypses of later centuries are in touch with their communities.

12) According to Cicero's de div. #30, the prophets know the past, present, and future alike.

13) The author is Samuel (early 3rd cent. A.D.).

14) More examples in the following chapter.

15) the great secret of the past is in many cases the "Act of Creation", מעשה בראשית ; the secret of the present is God's throne and glory amidst the celestial host, מעשה מרכבה , often based on Ez. Ch. 1; and the secret of the future are the events of the "end-time", הקץ , or the Days of the Messiah, and the World To Come, העולם הבא . Historical past, present and future, however, are equally often setting the frame for these visions.

16) PRK 23, 115a, Sed. Ol. 30, Tanh. B Breshith 28, etc.; the author is mostly Eleazar b. Azariah, but Yoshua b. Korha in ARN, A 31, p. 91, B 42, p. 116, Yehudah b. Simon in Gen. R. 24.2, Resh Lakish in Sanh. 38b and Ab. Zarah 5a. For more material cp. Ginzberg V, p. 82, n. 27. This tradition must be older than the 1st century A.D. (Eleazar), since related features of the Anthropos-myth are found in I Enoch, the Sibylline Oracles and the apocalyptic Adam literature. Ps.-Philo relates, that Adam saw all things (26.6).

17) More on this below.

18) Gen. R. 24.4. The Messiah will not come before all the souls mentioned in Adam's book (cp. below p. 16) will have been created, cp. II Bar. 23.4ff., I Enoch 47.4, IV Ezra 4.35, Revel. 6,9-11, III Enoch 43.1, or before the souls in the "body", גוף , have come to an end. The Guf ("Body"), the heavenly place of the souls, may originally have been the body of the Primal Man. Cp. n. 124.

19) Cp. below.

20) S. Dt. 34.1ff., #357, and Dt. R. 23 on 34.1, similar to Cant. R. 40.2, Ex. R. 40 on 31.1-2, Midr. Tann. on Dt. 32.52 and 34.2, p. 207, p. 223; Ps.-Philo 19.10ff: Moses saw the time passed and the time to come. Amoraic traditions: Lev. R. 26 on 21.1, Tanh. Emor 2, and B4, Tanh. Maasse 4, and B3. The Assumption of Moses presents Israel's future history as Moses' last words. Dt. 34.1ff. (Cp. also jTargum hereon) gave support to this tradition. For further material cp. Ginzberg VI, p. 151, n. 902; V, p. 82, n.27.

21) According to gnostic thinking creation is the first redemption (from night and chaos) and the Primal Man, participating in the act of creation, the first redeemer. Moses would be the second redeemer.

22) Baruch in II Bar., Ch. 53-74, Enoch in I Enoch 106. 19-107.1, Jub. 4.19, II Enoch 23, R. Yishmael in III Enoch 45.2, etc.

23) Perek Gan ha Hayyim., Jellinek V, pp. 42-51, Wuensche III, p. 87: The eyes of all the prophets saw the sum total of the generations of human history. R. Eleazar (Sotah 46b) ascribes to the prophet mentioned in 2 KI. 2.24 a vision of future generations.

24) Almost all the apocalypses give hints as to the length of time until the end draws near.

25) ARN, A 31, p. 91. But from this one passage should Glatzer, Tannaiten, pp. 39-41, not infer that we have to add this idea to all other parallel passages, since the main motif is a floating unit and may associate with various other currents of thought. In Gen. R. 19 on 3.7 Adam and Eve are shown the consequences of their sin after their action (Johanan b. Zakkai or Akiba) and the warning in Eccl. R. 7.13 not to destroy the world is disconnected with Adam's vision of the generations.

26) This increase is brought about by declaring ordinary biblical seeing (e.g., Gen. 22.4, 2 Ki. 2.24) to be prophetic visions, and by introducing new prophets or visions into the interpretation of the biblical narrative, e.g., in order to explain why Rahab, Jos. 2.16, knew the date of the pursuers' return.

27) Abraham, Adam and Moses saw the heavenly Jerusalem (II Bar. 4.2-7), Moses saw the pattern of Zion and its measures (II Bar. 59.4), etc., cp. Revel. 21.10, etc.

28) Mentioned in Sed. Ol. 26.

29) Sanh. 38b, Ab. Zarah 5a.

30) Aleph. R. Akiba, Jellinek III 44.

31) Mekh. 9 on Ex. 20.18, R. Nathan.

32) Gen. R. 49.2, a tradition going back to R. Nathan or Aha.

33) בית דין של מעלה, ibid., R. Yehudah. For parallels cp. Theodor, Gen. R.

34) Gen. R. 56.10: Abraham; 65.23: Isaac; 69.7: Jacob, anon.

35) Midr. Tann. on Dt. 33.12, p. 216. Further examples Ginzberg VI, p. 152, n. 905.

36) Men. 29b, R. Yehudah for Rabh. This seems to be the original account of the Akiba vision. The lawgiver Moses, not Adam, sees the great future expounder of the Law.

37) Ibid., school of R. Yishmael.

38) Ibid. A similar tradition is reported Mekh. on 12.2, R. Akiba, and Tanh. Shemini 8, anon.

39) Midr. Tann. on Dt. 32.52, p. 207, S. Num. #137.

40) Midr. Tann. on Dt. 34.1, p. 223, Hanina b. Jacob.

41) Tanh. Vayar 23; B 46.

42) חסוף העולם עד סופו, Hag. 12a, R. Eleazar; Tanh. Shemini 9, R. Yehudah b. Simon; j Ber. 5, 54a, R. Nezira.

43) Hag. 12a, anon. Baraitha.

44) Luke 4.5.

45) In this case the ever present abode of the souls is meant, not the eschatological paradise. Insight into the gifts stored for the pious is of frequent occurrence, e.g., j Hag. 2, 77d, etc.

46) Some probably anti-apocalyptic sources deny that the prophets are capable of piercing the veil of the mysteries of the "World To Come"; cp. n. 247.

47) Cp. Ginzberg V, pp. 229-30.

48) Midr. Tann. on Dt. 34.5, p. 224.

49) Jishmael, Akiba, Eliezer b. Hyrkanos, Johanan b. Zakkai, Shimon b. Johai, Joshua b. Levi. Meg. 24b and Hag. 15a speak of the attempts of four Tannaim to "enter Paradise" or see the Merkabhah. Cp. Scholem, p. 41 and p. 355, n. 18.

50) Tanh. B 71a.

51) Based on Hos. 12.11, Ez. 1.1. Mekh. on 15.12 and 19.11, MRSJ p. 60, 113. (R. Eliezer, not Eleazar).

52) From the beginning of the 3rd cent. A.D. onwards.

53) ARN, A 1, p. 5, Sukkah 45b and Sanh. 97b, etc., cp. also Strack-Billerbeck I pp. 208-14.

54) e.g., Tanh. Breshith 1.

55) In connection with the Holy Spirit, e.g., Gen.R. 75.8, without mention of the Holy Spirit: Mekh. 13 on Ex. 12.36, etc.

56) Cant. R. 2.1 end; j Hor. 3, 48c; j Sanh. 6a; 23b, etc. The formula עגה שעתיד is used for God's visions, i.e., God's foresight:Gen. R. 6.1, Eccl. R. 10.16 (Tannaitic), Tanh. Tsav 12 (Berekhiah ha-Kohen), Gen. R. 2.7, and even more often ~~even~~ in Amoraic texts: Gen. R. 2.3, 9.13 (Tanhuma), j Meg. I, 70d (Shimon b. Lakish), Tanh. Bemidbar 26, B 33, etc., גלוי וצפוי in PR 35b, היה צפוי לפני "it has been foreseen" or "prearranged", in Tanh. B Shlah 6, PR 27b, 66b, etc.

57) e.g., j Targ. Gen. 37.33, MHG Gen. 56.5, etc. Aphel: to show; Ithpael and Ithpeel: to appear.

58) נגלה על , Gen. R. 52.5, Tanh. Lekh Lkha 20, etc., this being the usual formula for the shekhinah's appearance. God says to the Holy Spirit: הגלי (PR 12a, late). הגלוית , "revelation" (rare, late; Midr. Agur, ed. Enelow, p. 121). Quite common are נגלה לי . Agg. Ber., p. 131, Tos. Kidd. 5.21 (denoting the object of the vision or audition); גלה , Piel, Tanh. Vayar 6; נתגלה דברים בר"ה , S. Num. #88; Midr. Sam. #10, 39b, etc.; for God's foreknowledge: גלוי לפני Midr. Sam. #6, 30a, R. Isaac; גלוי וידוע , ARN, A 1, p. 3, etc.

59) Tanh. Shemini 9.

60) Yalk. Kings #196. נבט in Sanh. 101b is a play of words on "Nebat".

61) III Enoch 11.1ff. in connection with the mirror-motif.

62) Cp. Jastrow's dictionnary, s.v.

63) ראיה , Ex. R. 3, or biblical תראה , Lev. R. 1.

64) "vision" may be: חזיון , חזות , חזונא , חזיונא .

65) e.g., ARN, A 34, B 37, p. 95 and p. 102 and parallels. But צפית המרכבה in the Hekhaloth literature.

66) See the following chapter.

67) Gen. R. 65.23, 68.12; Midr. Tann. on Dt. 32.48, 32.52; 34.1, pp. 206, 207, 223, etc., cp. Bar. 4.2-7, Luke 4.5 (this is probably the original idea; Matth. 4.8 presents a rationalized version of this miracle). Cp. also almost all the visions of the generations and of halakhic details.

68) This simile has first been used by W. Bacher for the midrashic style and has been repeated by G.F. Moore.

69) R. Akiba, Eleazar b. Shammua, Mekh. on Ex. 12.2, parallel to Tanh. Shemini 8, anon., parallel to Men. 29a, school of Jishma'el, and additions by an anonymous Baraitha. In Midr. Tann. on Dt. 34.1, p. 223, the author avoids the anthropomorphism by saying כאלו הראוני .

70) PRK 48. 71) III Enoch 45.2

72) But in Lam. R. on 1.1 "pointing with the finger" expresses the blame put on Israel.

73) j Meg. 2, 20a, R. Hanina. 74) Midr. Ps. 48.27, #14.

75) Cp. n. 42.

76) He sees with this light from Gilead to Dan. Yalk. Reub. Ki Tissa 117a, Zohar Breshith 31b.

77) Probably suggested by Dt., Ch. 34. Midr. Tann. on Dt. 32.49, R. Joshua, from Sifre.

78) Hag. 12a, BB 75a, Sanh. 38b, 100a, Gen.R. 8.1, 19.8, Num. R. 13.2, etc. Tannaitic tradition since the first century.

79) Tanh. Pekude 3.

80) Gen. R. 14.9 (R. Meir), PRE 24, cp. R. Meyer, Hellenistisches, p. 51. Cp. also Cicero-Posidonius' dream-theory as formulated in Cicero's de div., #30.

81) בת קול, e.g., ARN, A37, p. 109. According to Plato, Sympos. 203 E, Xenocrates, and Plutarch demons are able to carry prophecies from God to man. Cp. Nock, Conversion, p. 223.

82) Vitae Adae et Evae, Ch. 25ff., cp. Charles II, 139ff.

83) Apocalypse of Abraham, Ch. 15ff.

84) Gen. R. 44.14, R. Johanan.

85) Shab. 88b, Ex. R. 28, Cant. R. 40.2, Baraitha Sanh. 111a/b, probably also j Targ. Dt. 30.12-13.

86) Cp. Ginzberg V, pp. 416-18, n. 117f., VI p. 56, n. 286, Jellinek VI, introduction p. 22, Midr. Gedullath Mosheh, etc. in M. Gaster's "Hebrew Visions of Hell and Paradise", Studies and Texts, Vol. I, London 1925-28, pp. 124-64.

87) Test. Levi, 2.7ff.

88) I Enoch 71.5, II Enoch 1.1ff.

89) Sophonias Apocalypse.

90) Cp. also Christian apocalyptic literature, e.g. Isaiah in Asc. Is. Ch. 6, Revelation, Shepherd of Hermas, etc.

91) Jellinek III, pp. 65-68.

92) Assarah Haruge haMalkhuth, Jellinek VI; he sees God in Ber. 7a, receives a revelation by Suriel, ibid. 51a, and is the hero of III Enoch.

93) Cp. Odeberg, p. 4.

94) Cp. Scholem, p. 41.

95) Cp. Gaster, above, n. 86.

96) Eccl. R. on 9.10.

97) j Hag. 3, 77d.

98) II Cor. 12.2f.

99) עדיין מבחוץ הלך לו .

100) Religion, p. 356.

101) Cp. below, p. 15.

102) Meg. 24b, Hag. 15a, Tos. Hag. 2,7, p. 234.

103) On this much discussed term cp. Scholem p. 46.

104) Cp. JE, s.v., "Gnosticism".

105) II Enoch 41.1ff. (descent), I Enoch Ch. 54 (vision only).

106) Cp. Gaster, above, n. 86, also Tanh. Maasse 4. Jonah is shown the abyss by Leviathan (PRE 10), a variant of this motif.

107) In earlier sources mere allusions, like I Peter 3.9f., 4.6, cp. Gospel of Peter.10.41,42, Sib. 8.310ff., Odes of Sol. 42.13ff., etc.

108) Midr. Ps. 1.21.

109) Elijah Apocalypse, Jellinek III, pp. 65-68.

110) Book Zerubbabel, Jellinek II, pp. 54-57.

111) Yosippon, Ch. 10 and 11, ed. Breithaupt.

112) Accumulation of motifs.

113) Acc. to the Hebrews, Hennecke p. 19.

114) Matth. 4.5.

115) Acts 8.39.

116) Yoma 77a, cp. Odeberg, p. 141, n.1. Against Odeberg: the Curtain is not a symbol of the last secrets, but a reality in the opinion of these sources. The curtain also occurs, however, as a symbol of separation and of God's transcendence in R. Meir's simile, Gen.R. 12.36 (God as a judge, separated from the outside world by a curtain), or in R. Hanina (b. Papa)'s simile, Gen. R. 52.5 and 11. According to Tanh. Mishpotim 13 the curtain is never closed for the oppressed when he cries to God.

117) אחורי הפרגוד .

118) Hag. 16a, ARN, A3, p.16.

119) j Targ. Gen. 37.17, Tanh. Vayar.

120) Mekh. on Ex. 19.9.

121) b Ber. 18b.

122) Aleph. R. Akiba, Jellinek III, p. 44.

123) I 90b, Leghorn 1866.

124) The Guf, the place of the souls, seems to be identical with the Curtain, e.g., in Arukh, s.v. פרגוד and the Zohar II, 96b, cp. Ginzberg V, p. 75, n. 19.

125) Midr. Ps. 140.5, 6.

126) According to PR 115a and Midr. Ps. 139.16 the translation of Ps. 139.16 would be: "God:'My Golem (the gigantic Adam, not yet shaped), what have thine eyes seen?' Adam:'And in thy book they all (the generations) have been written down.'"

127) I Enoch 93.2, 106.19. Cp. also the biblical idea in Ex. 32.15.

128) Jewish examples are: books of the antediluvians (cp. below), Enoch, Noah, Solomon, Raziel, etc. But some of these books have been written down by man.

129) Murmelstein; A. Kohut, Parsic and Jewish Legends of the First Man, JQR 3, OS, London, 1891, pp. 231-50 and others. 129a) cp. Bibliography.

130) PR 115a, Eleazar. 131) Gen.R. 44, Eleazar.

132) Midr. Ps. 139.16, Hag. 12a, Eleazar.

133) III Enoch 9.2, 48 C3, cp. I Enoch 106.

134) קוברזה נעל , Shab. 92a.

135) גבורה , Ned. 38a, R. Johanan.

136) Sotah 10a; PRE 53; Tanh. Vaethhanan 1; PR 36b (anon. and R. Levi), Eccl. R. on 7.19.

137) BB 58a, R. Banaa. 138) ibid.

139) Meg. 15a; Sed. Ol. 21; Mi. Sanh. 2.4.

140) Cp. also Ginzberg V, p. 80, n. 24.

141) Tanh. Shemoth 1.

142) Tanh. Lekh Lkha 18, B 22; Ps. 45.3 is applied on Abraham in Midr. Ps. 45.3, Tanh. Hayye Sarah 1.

143) de virt. #217f.

144) Actually meaning "the angellike", a play on his name.

145) Schermann, p. 73, Greek and Latin versions.

146) Irenaeus, adv. Haer., V 7.7, quoted by Kraeling, p. 40.

147) BB 58a, R. Banaa; PR 36b.

148) Philo, de opif. mundi, #143, #144, #148, j Shab. 2, 35b; Gen. R. 17.8; Tanh. Noah 1. Murmelstein, p. 255, n. 3, registers examples from apocryphal and gnostic Adam literature.

149) Dt. R. 11.

150) Lekah Dt. 34.7, cp. Ginzberg VI, p. 164, n. 953.

152) I, pp. 236-37.

153) esp. Num. R. 13.12; Gen. R. 12.6, Tanh. Breshith B 6, and 18, Murmelstein p. 255ff.

154) Vita Enoch, Jellinek IV, 129ff., before Enoch's admission to the heavenly host.

155) ARN, A 1, p. 1, R. Nathan.

156) The prophets: Num. R. 10.5. Israel: MRSJ, pp. 25-6. It is a Rabbinic tendency to grant a similar description to the pious. Some material with Strack-Billerbeck II 665-66.

157) Lev. R. 1.1, Yehuda b. Simon and Baraitha; Tanh. B Vayikra 1 and many parallels. Proof-texts are: Haggai 1.13, Num. 10.16 and 27, Jud. 2.1, 13.6; Is. 44.26; Ps. 103.20, 2 Chr. 36.16.

158) The members of the Sanhedrin have been similarly honoured, by the Midrash, for only tall, wise, and old persons of venerable appearance could be accepted as members of the Sanhedrin according to R. Johanan, Sanh. 17a/b.

159) Test. Levi 8.15. Variants present:"Beloved as a prophet of the Most High".

160) 15.13ff.

161) I No. 50, de div.

162) Tanh. Hayye Sarah 1.

163) ibid. 4.

164) Ant. V 8.4; 10, 3. Cp. I Sam. 1.12 and LXX additions to I Sam. 1.11.

165) Ez. 28.12 according to Eccl. R. on 7.19. Much material on Adam's wisdom in Ginzberg V, on Adam.

166) Jonah was able to pay for his journey.- Beth Shammai made wealth, wisdom, noble birth, and humility a conditio sine qua non for their pupils, ARN, A 3, p. 14.

167) Kraeling, p. 163.

169) Concerning Abraham and the late Ps. 105.15 apart from one instance (Gen. 20.7).

170) Adam appears as the greatest of all the prophets in Zohar I, 125a.

171) Japhet's mention may be a mistake crept in through the biblical proof-text for Shem's prophecy. His name is missing in Sed. Ol. 5.

172) Sed. Ol. 21. R. Josse on Eber, ibid., 1, p. 26. All the ancients could avail themselves of the Holy Spirit according to R. Shimon b. Gamliel or, better, Josse b. Halaphta, Gen. R. 37.7, Sed. Ol. 1.

173) In these passages Abel's classification as a prophet may be based on the story of his martyrdom, and may not be in line with this Gnostic tendency.

174) Yalk. Reub. on Gen. 4.1ff.

175) Cp. I Enoch Ch. 106ff. 176) 8.18, 20.

177) Quis rer. div. haer. #258ff.

178) Cp. Ginzberg V, p. 167, n. 4.

179) Cp. Ginzberg I, p. 141f. and V, p. 167, n. 4.

180) Have Jacob and Amram been chosen to avoid the mention of Abraham and Moses, who could not so easily be claimed for such doctrines?

181) Cp. Ginzberg V, p. 167, n. 4.

182) Cp. Houtsma's Encyclopedia of Islam, s.v., Nabi.

183) Sukkah 52b, Pirke Rabbenu Hakkadosh, ed. Gruenhut 78 and 82. Cant. R. 8.15 cp. Ginzberg V p. 130, n. 142.

184) Gen. R. 34.5, 39.4, Eccl. R. 7.19, anon.

185) V, p. 132, n.1. 186) Kraeling, p. 25.

187) Reitzenstein, Das Mandaeische Buch des Herrn der Grosse, p. 51

188) 17.4 parallel Recog. 2.47. Hom. 18.13 without Moses; 2.52: Adam, Noah, Abraham, Jacob and Moses.

189) ibid. 18.14. 190) Hennecke, p. 19.

191) Cp. Epiphanius, Haer. 36.3, 53.2.

192) Cp. Odeberg, p. 123. 193) Odeberg, p. 189.

194) Kraeling, p. 163.

195) M. Gaster in Hasting's Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics, s.v., Transmigration.

196) Cp. Friedlaender, p. 239. 197) ibid., p. 239, 244.

198) Ginzberg V, p. 149, n. 52 199) Yalk. Reub. on Gen.4.1.

200) Cp. Gaster's article on Transmigration (above, n. 195).

201) Ps. Philo 48.1-2, probably S. Num. #131; j Targ. Ex. 6.18, Num. 25.12, Dt. 30.4; Tanh. Pinhas 1, PRE 44, etc. Also Origen, John 6.7; Ps. Jerome I Sam. 2.27, etc. (according to Ginzberg VI, pp.316-17, n. 3).

202) Cp. I Macc. 9.27, 14.41, 4.44-46. In Meg. 14a, we find an early Amoraic discussion on the question, how Hulda was justified in prophesying during Jeremiah's lifetime. This discussion also alludes to the doctrine that the lower authority has to be silent before the higher authority.

203) c. Ap. I 8.

204) Leisegang, Gnosis, p. 34ff.

205) Brandt, Mandaische Schriften, p. 23, 59. Cp. Murmelstein, p. 245.

206) Beginning and end are exhaustively compared with each other in some instances, e.g., PR 152 b (Gen.1.1 is interpreted here as alluding to the world to come). Cp. also IV Ezra 7.29f.

207) Mi., Tos. and Talmud Taanith.

208) S. A. Marmorstein, Greek and Jewish Popular Usages, II, in Gaster Anniversary Volume, London 1936, pp. 414-18.

209) Cicero, de div. I 32, Cratippus and others.

210) On the still older Platonic "scientific" asceticism causing prophetic sleep cp. Scott's Hermetica, Poimandres, p. 115. One should mention here the philosophical asceticism of the Neo-pythaforeans and the ascetic practices of Apollonios of Tyana as described in Reitzenstein's Wundererzahlungen. In the opinion of Reitzenstein this ascetic movement may have been international at that time.

211) P.R. Arbesmann, Das Fasten bei den Griechen und Römern, Giessen, 1929. Cp. M. Gaster, The Sword of Moses, Texts and Studies, Vol. II.

212) e.g., 5.20, 6.35, 9.26, etc.

213) 9.2, 12.5, 20.5f., 21.1, 47.2, etc.

214) Apoc. Abr. Ch. 9. Observe the similarity to the Nazir idea.

215) Midr. Prov. I 2a, B, Tanhum b. Hanilai.

216) Murmelstein, loc.cit., p. 415.

217) ARN, A1, p. 1, R. Nathan.

218) Sanh. 65b.

219) Ex. 24.15-18 as understood by the Midrashim.

220) Ex. 19.10, 16.

221) who are probably virgins, if the symbol of the girdle signifies chastity, Test. of Job, Introd. p. XCV.

222) Arbesmann, loc. cit., offers parallels from Greek and Roman magic, p. 63ff.

223) S. Num. #99, R. Nathan.

224) ARN, A2, pp. 9-10, anon., S. Num. #103.

225) Luke 2.36ff.

226) e.g., de migr. Abr., p. 466, ed. Mangey; quis rer. div. haer., p. 505, p. 507: -- Ant. V 8.4, 10.3, etd.

227) The prophets around Isaiah in Asc. Is. 2.10-11 renounce proper clothes, live on herbs, etc., to lament the "going astray" in Israel. They may have been modelled by the author on the Essene pattern.

228) Cp. also Philo, de somn. I, p. 626, ed. Mangey.

229) "Prophetenweihe", Reitzenstein, Poimandres, p. 219ff.

230) סתרי תורה, סתרי (of Persian origin); עמוקות, עמוקים, חדרים, סוד are the Hebrew equivalents for mystery, cp. e.g., III Enoch 11.1ff, Mekh. on 16.31 (Jossai). Adjectives are נסתר, נעלם. The Greek μυστήριον as מסתירין or מסטירין is also represented, but mainly used for halakhic mysteries. Some material with Strack-Billerbeck, I, 659.

231) e.g., Mi. Sotah end, the Sorites of Pinhas b. Yair.

232) Cp. Ch. III.

234) sources in Ch. II.

235) גלם חזוטרא, e.g., Midr. Ps. 90.1.

237) Cp. n. 99.

238) The prophet is θεῖος in the state of inspiration, Ant. III, p. 180, X, p. 35, p. 268. ἔνθεος: Ant. VI, p. 56, p. 76, VIII, p. 346, IX, p. 35, Bell. III, p. 353, IV, p. 388; cp. Schlatter, p. 60. (Josephus, ed. Naber).

239) esp. in Daniel, (cp. Fascher's monograph on this point) and Gen. 2.20.

240) Books of Enoch, Assumption of Moses, Ch. 106f., 2 Macc. 2.1, II Bar. 77.2, and end of IV Ezra.

241) A list given in Derekh Erets Zuta 1 end, ed. Tawrogi, cp. Ginzberg V, p. 95, n. 67.

242) Yalk. Shim. II 367, Midr. Ps. 26. Ginzberg ibid. לא מתו אלא נעלמו מעיניהם בדיבור, e.g., Gen. R. 21.5. Immortality is ascribed to those prophets whose death is not clearly stated in the Scriptures.

243) e.g., Targ. Is. 63.10 and 11, where the translator probably wanted to render the abstract רוח קדשא by the concrete expression "prophets", but was not willing to drop the epithet. Midr. Ps. 22.2, #2, sees in קדושו (Is. 17.10) Isaiah or

Esther. Tanh. B Bemidbar 2 offers in some MSS "the holy fathers".

244) Cp. Strack-Billerbeck, II 691f. and Buchler, p. 45 and p. 50ff. Neither Strack-B.'s suggestion that mainly ascetic-mystical piety nor Buchler's claim that sexual purity is instrumental in granting this epithet to the pious is fully proven by the material collected there. Since the priests, scholars, Jewish congregations, and Israel as a whole receive this title, we may suggest that the word also described the religious character of these groups in the theological sense.

245) Only a few pious are untainted by sin: Benjamin, Amram, Jesse, Kilab b. David (BB 17a), or Levi (Zohar I 57b), and Joshua (Zohar I 53a), all of whom (except Kilab) may be conceived as prophets according to Rabbinic thinking. If we assume that the condition for "entering Paradise alive" is sinlessness, the list will be much longer. Cp. Derekh Erets, loc. cit. The Prayer of Manasse, 7, considered the patriarchs mortals who never sinned.

246) Against Glatzer, Year Book. On the close relationship of the Rabbinic writings with the apocalypses cp. W. Foerster, Die Erloesungshoffnung des Spaetjudentums, Morgenland 28, Leipzig 1936, pp. 24-37. He thinks that in some instances the difference dwindles down to a difference of accentuation, intensity and vividness of expression. Guignebert's book on Judaism shows the same opinion.

247) Some other anti-gnostic utterances are: Ecclus. 3.21-22 (against speculation), Mi. Hag. 2.1, Tos. Hag. 2.1 and parallels, Hag. 13a (restrictions for the teaching of Gnostic doctrines, early 1st cent.). Cp., furthermore, the Midrashim which emphasize that the prophets saw only part of the future glory (Yalk. Shim. #368, Eccl. R. 1.8.) Cp. above p. 23.

248) Democritus and also Platoχ in his Phaedon; mentioned by Cicero, de div., I 37. Cp. Reitzenstein, Poimandres, p. 200, as to the gnostic parallel.

249) de spec. leg. IV 49; de vita Mos. XVII, 274-77; quis rer. div. haer. 249ff., 259f., 263-66; cp. de leg. alleg. III 71, quaest. in Gen. I 90.

250) Cp., the relation of the conception of "enthusiasm" to the theory of the Holy Spirit in Ch. III.

251) התנבא translated by שבח ; צרם, v. 24, by צר ש ; cp. Heinemann, Geist, p. 137, n. 7.

252) Sed. Ol. 21; Gen. R. 17.5, 44.17, Ruth R. 1 on 2.4, Yalk. Shim. Prov. 19.15. Cp. Philo, Quis rer. div. haer., 249.

253) 1 Sam. 26.12. נדרדישה and similar words are probably a corruption of נדדרדרה , cp. Jastrow's dictionary.

254) Gen. 15.12.

255) A prophet is unaware of the meaning of his own words, when he mentions his own name, i.e., speaks of himself in the third person.

256) Cp. Chl V.

257) By conjecture: Ginzberg II, pp. 115-16, Midr. Ps. 24, p. 204, Jos. Ant. VII, 12.3. But the spell caused by music may be mere excitement, or the usual exaltedness of inspiration.

258) Numbers Ch. 24; Midrashim, ibid.; Ant. IV, pp. 119-22; de vita Mos. I 274, 277.

259) Vision of Kenaz, 28.10. 260) 10.9f., 11.5, 22.17.

261) 7, cp. Nock, Conversion, p. 238. The instrument-idea: Philo, quis rer. div. haer. 259f., 263-66, etc. Cp. n. 249.

262) Cp. Bevan's Sybils and Seers on the Church Fathers.

263) III, 269a.

265) Cp. Pauly-Wissowa, Suppl. IV, 1924, pp. 314ff., s.v. Epiphanie.

CH. V

THE CONCEPTION OF PROPHECY IN POPULAR RELIGION

It may prove difficult or well-nigh impossible to find an appropriate definition of the term "popular religion". However, there exists a broad layer of thought and usage in Rabbinic Judaism of this period which can be subsumed neither under the gnostic and apocalyptic movements nor under Rabbinic piety, since it possesses its own characteristic traits, which have, of course, certain points of contact with the aforementioned types of piety. The mental climate of Rabbinic religion is mainly the piety centering around the fulfilment of the Law in all its ethical implications, and the ethical interpretation of history and "end-time". In spite of the divergencies and varieties of opinions, which we encounter in the Rabbinic controversies, Rabbinic thinking is more or less a consistent religious attitude, an attempt at a system of theology. Gnosticism, mystical and apocalyptic piety are characterized by their outspoken otherworldliness and their transcendental strivings, which also presuppose a certain consistency of attitude, more or less dualistic in character, emphasizing the gulf between this world and the other or coming world. Popular religion is different from both, as it is far from being a system of thought, a consistent body of

beliefs and practices. It is more or less concerned with earthly affairs, which have, however, connexions with the hereafter and with the world above and below. The driving forces in popular religion are human needs, human fate, and human fear. Its place is not so much official religion with its approved institutions, beliefs and texts, sacred times, places and rites, but the home, the cemetery, midnight, the magic formula and the amulet, childbirth, marriage and death, the big field of human cares unploughed or insufficiently ploughed by official religion. No wonder, therefore, that beliefs and usages of popular religion are often contradictory, and, at times, bordering on superstition.

Both official and unofficial religion, or "higher" and "lower" strata of religion may be represented in one text or by one person. In Rabbinic Judaism popular religion has, occasionally, overcome official considerations (as in the instance of the canonization of the Book of Esther) (1). We may often hesitate to assign a definite place to a belief in the different layers of Jewish religion. There are no distinct border-lines and no exhaustive definitions, but we must, nevertheless, use this working-hypothesis of a distinctive popular religion in order to expose and

appreciate all the manifold colourings and shades of the highly complex conception of prophecy in Judaism. It is evident that in this particular field of our investigation, viz., popular religion, we will come across many parallels of Hellenistic and Oriental belief. In many cases a direct interdependence is highly improbable and in any case no longer traceable. In some cases, however, we will try to suggest direct influences of Hellenistic sources on Jewish ideas.

I

The people had a natural tendency to hold the prophet in high esteem. The Rabbis, as we have seen, did not evaluate him too highly. He was the theological, in a way rationalized, teacher, Halakhist, author and messenger, whose task and activity belonged to the past. The gnostics and apocalyptists esteemed the prophet highly, because he led them toward the realm of the mystical and toward salvation. The people valued him as a helper, a worker of miracles, in their time of need and longing. For them, the prophet was not a removed and transcendent figure, but close at hand and of "practical" importance in all trials and tribulations.

His relics, his intercession, even his grave, were efficacious.

The promotion of the prophet to a messianic figure may be due to this popular idea of a prophet. He was believed to take an active part in the final redemption, which was essentially a time of miraculous interference of the divine powers with the sphere of human fate. There was, therefore, an ever-increasing tendency to enlarge the field of activity assigned to the prophet in the great act of redemption.

As early as in the biblical conceptions, above all in "Is." 11.2 and 28.5f., the Messiah himself bears the traits of a prophet. This belief is strong at all times among the people as can be seen from Josephus' description of the pseudo-prophets of his time, who seem to have claimed that they initiated the time of salvation (2). According to "Targum Is." 11.2 the Messiah is a prophet (3). The New Testament contains numerous passages testifying to the people's belief in a Messiah-prophet, or, at least, in the miraculous power of prophets (4). The Sadduceans (5), the Pharisees (6), and Philo expected a prophet (7). The Samaritan Taheb, too, bears the traits of a prophet (8).

Furthermore, to certain prophets were assigned roles as helpers in the act of redemption. It appears that Elijah was the first figure to be entrusted with such a role. The aim of his task, derived from "Mal." 3.23 by exegesis, is supposed to be general reconciliation (9), re-establishment of the tribes (10), and of peace (11). He gathers the dispersed, conquers the nations, and almost becomes an equal of the Messiah if not a second Messiah himself(12).

Jeremiah's role is more limited. He continually intercedes for Israel(13) in the heavenly court or sanctuary like Elijah, Phinehas (14), and watches the Ark of the Covenant together with Moses and Aaron (15). His return or intercession is mentioned by the people in "Matth." 16.14, and he is one of the "witnesses" in Christian tradition (16). He is Moses' συγκοινωνός, and believed to be still alive (17) like Elijah (18). A Midrash quoted in "Rimze Haftaroth" (19) asserts that "Nahamu", Elijah and Jeremiah will seize the Holy Land for Israel in the "end-time".

Moses is another prophet who will play a part in the "end-time". As the preceding chapters tried

to prove, his figure had become similar to that of the divine Primal Man and occupied the central place in the thought of Rabbinic Judaism. It is only logical that he should take over an important role in the Messianic time. Our sources, however, give comparatively little information about his future task, which probably formed part of such popular beliefs as are not represented in Rabbinic sources. Theudas, e.g. (20), behaves like Moses redivivus. This presupposes in him or in his contemporaries the belief in Moses' return. Moses is one of the watchers of the Ark (21) and one of the witnesses in Christian tradition. In the late passage "Dt. R." 3 on 10.1 he is expected to return together with Elijah, since he offered his life for Israel in this world (22); both appear together in the transfiguration scene in "Matth." 17.3ff. (23).

It seems that those prophets who in their earthly career could claim sufferings on behalf of or for Israel were assigned Messianic roles (24). This applies to Moses (25), Jeremiah, David (26), Elijah-Phinehas (27), who will atone incessantly for Israel until the time of redemption, and Jonah, whose flight and trials were on account of Israel (28). Jonah is one of those who enters Paradise alive because of his

vicarious sufferings (29). He will slay the monster Leviathan in the last days (30). He has been identified with the son of the widow of Zarephath, who is said to be the "Messiah of the tribe of Joseph" (31). It is not necessary to assume that Jonah's Messianic part is an adaptation to the Christian conception of Jonah, which makes him a prototype of Jesus (32). The story of Jonah was very popular in the Tannaitic period. Jonah had become a national hero in the Midrash and a favourite subject of early Jewish and Christian art (which in a number of its motifs featuring the OT is dependent on Jewish patterns). Jonah's popularity and the idea of his sufferings for Israel may have preceded his promotion to a prototype of Jesus.- The rule can be stated that Israel's historical redeemers will be its eschatological saviours.

Joshua seems to be the Messiah mentioned by the fifth"Sibylline Book", 247-85 and 414-32, which are the only instances of Messianic expectations connected with Joshua.

Adam has become a prototype for the Messiah on account of his connexion with the Son of Man idea and the strict parallelism between creation and redemption (33). He is a member of the Messianic council, in which

we find a considerable number of prophets, a clear indication that the popular tendency was to attach Messianic significance to all the prophets. Apart from the seven shepherds, David as president, Adam, Seth, Methuselah, Abraham, Jacob and Moses, we have a board of seven or eight "princes" assisting the Messiah, with the Messiah as leader, and Samuel, Saul, Jesse, Elijah, Amos, Zephaniah and Hezekiah as members (34). All except Hezekiah, the pious king κατ' ἐξοχήν, are prophets in Jewish tradition. "Num. R." 15 and Jerome on "Micah" 5.4, who refers to Symmachos' rendering of the biblical "princes" by "χριστοί" (35), call these personages "Messiahs".

It is only a small step from here to the opinion that all the prophets have a Messianic task. In the world to come they will sing a song (36), and, according to a late text, it will be their task to summon the dead for resurrection (37). They anticipate in this world the miracles of the world to come, or prepare the way to the future aeon (38).

The passages in John's gospel which mention the people's epithet "the prophet" for Jesus as well as the reference to the pseudo-prophets in Josephus' records show clearly what a prophet had to be in the eyes of the multitude. The success of an Apollonios of Tyana, a

Simon Magus, or an Alexander of Abutonichos had the same roots. Their activities were preceded and accompanied by a wide-spread type of Hellenistic literature about the miracles and achievements of prophets, called ἀρεταλογία (39). The biblical Jonah-story may belong to the earliest period of this literary development. There are quite a number of miracle-stories about biblical prophets in the Midrash, most of them elaborating biblical suggestions. The canonized text, however, entailed a certain limitation to free speculation. The chief bearers of miraculous powers in the eyes of the people were, therefore, the Rabbis, and they were, as early as the Tannaitic witnesses, considered prophets or endowed with prophetic power. This meant in the popular belief that they were able to resurrect the dead, heal the sick, and have dominion over matter, plant, animal, and spirits (40).

However, in the Midrash the prophets were not deprived of their power. Daniel in "Susannah" was such a help in distress; and Joel saved Israel from hunger (41). As long as Jeremiah was in Jerusalem, the city was inviolable by a miracle, and Jeremiah had to be removed before the destruction could take place (42). The crocodiles disappeared from the Nile through his prayers (43). Elijah wanders through the world and

appears suddenly at the right time and the right place to help people in their needs. Strack-Billerbeck, in their fourth volume, have devoted a monograph to the many-sided and early attested role of Elijah as a miracle-worker. We have to add that especially in the later texts Elijah is used alternatively with the Holy Spirit and the angels to inform the prophets of present and future events (44). Moses, Elijah, Elisha, Ezekiel, and all the prophets anticipated the miracles of the end-time (45). Other miracle-stories are connected with the dead body of the prophets, like the legends on Joseph's coffin, Zechariah's blood, and Moses' death. (46).

The conception of the prophet as a thaumaturge recalls to our mind other figures of ancient literature who display similar characteristics, above all the philosopher. In the minds of the people, who could not grasp his teaching but only the story of his life, and the legends about him, the ancient philosopher had become an ideal type, the saint of antiquity (47). Literature completed this apotheosis. The philosopher in Hellenistic sources is invested with extraordinary gifts similar to those of the Jewish prophet in gnostic and popular thought. The philosopher like the prophet is wise, leads an ascetic life, is steadfast, dares to with-

stand tyrants, and often dies a martyr; there is a deathbed literature; the philosopher is thaumaturgic, immune to dangers; in a word: he is superhuman, divine (48), and worthy of adoration. Although these stories were undoubtedly known to a certain extent in Palestinian circles, a direct dependence cannot be proven and is not too probable, as the whole ancient world was full of these different types of "God-men", as heroes, kings, half-gods, philosophers, magicians, sages, lawgivers, poets and prophets, who all had many traits in common.

The prophet on his appearance is obliged to introduce himself by wonders and miracles, or "signs", תמוה and אות (49). This rule is the outcome of extended halakhic discussions in connection with "Dt." 13.2ff in the "Sanhedrin"-material of traditional literature. R. Jossai the Galilean admits that even to the pagan prophets a certain power has been given to produce signs that they might test Israel (50). Josephus' pseudoprophets introduce themselves by signs (51). Rabbis and even the Messiah work miracles as signs (52). "Mopheth" and "Nebhuah" are declared by the Midrash to be synonymous (53). For Josephus, too, signs are the clearest indication for the truth of a revelation and the easiest means to publicize it (54). The classical example in the Mid-

rash is Hezekiah's request for a sign to Isaiah. The announcement of fantastic signs for the "end-time", a fine example of popular imagination, is ascribed to many biblical prophets in Epiphanius' vitae prophetarum (55).

The aiding power of the prophets gained still greater importance owing to the fact that they were supposedly able to see the past, present and future alike. We will deal here with the people's belief in the prophet's power of seeing things of his time and environs which were hidden to ordinary mortals; the prophets were, more or less, clairvoyants. The object of their "revelation" was mostly a small, almost trivial, one, but important in the lives of the people concerned, Biblical instances were available in this case. Samuel, e.g., knew where Saul's asses were; and Ahiah knew the wish of Azariah's wife (56).

The Midrash discovers numerous instances of clairvoyance in the biblical narrative. Abraham knows Pharaoh's plan (57) and sees, (since "he is a prophet", cp. "Gen." 20.8,) that Abimelech has not touched Sarah (58). Israel on the Red Sea knew Pharaoh's thoughts in Egypt (59) through the Holy Spirit. The prophets as a whole knew חדרים וסתרים, the secrets of the present (60). Samuel was expected to recognize the future king amongst

Jesse's sons, but his seership failed him (61). Hezekiah should have said to Isaiah: "You are a prophet of God, why doest thou ask me?" (62). Further examples deal with Eleazar (63), Moses (64), Israel in Egypt (65), Jacob (66), Joshua (67), Naomi (68), Mordecai (69), Joseph (70), Rebekah (71) and the mother of Sisera (72). In these cases clairvoyance is accomplished with the help of the Holy Spirit, by "propheey" (73), or though Elijah (74). The New Testament also presents a number of examples for the popular belief that the prophet is a clairvoyant (75). The Rabbis also supposedly had the power to perceive hidden things. R. Gamaliel (76) and R. Tarphon (77) were able to guess the names of men whom they met for the first time. R. Shimon b. Yochai discovered a trick (played upon him by a Samaritan) through the clairvoyance in the Holy Spirit (78). The resurrection of a dead man connected with this story shows clearly the high degree of the miraculous element in this particular aspect of popular belief. R. Meir is the clairvoyant in another story (79).

Any conception of prophecy, whether Hellenic or Oriental, Rabbinic, gnostic or popular, includes the idea of foresight on the part of the prophet. But the object of foresight may vary to a considerable extent. The prophet in the classical Rabbinic conception foresees

the "empires", the exiles, the great outlines of the history of God's people, and the Messianic events. He is also able to foresee single personalities of the future. But in the people's belief the prophet also knows the small things which centre around the people's or his own human needs and desires. The content of these visions also may be trivial as it was the case in the instances of clairvoyance. It is to the triviality of the people's questions that Plutarch attributes the end of the oracles of the Pythia (80).

Some examples taken from the sphere of patriarchal family life may suffice. Rachel knew that she would have only one more son (81). Rebekah knew Esau's words by prophecy (82), and that she would lose both sons on one day (83). Sarah foresaw Abraham's marriage with Hagar and Ishmael's birth (84). Jacob knew that Rachel and he would not be buried together (85). Ruth foresaw that Boas would make her his wife (86). The fantastic extension of foresight in some prophetic visions and the great increase of prophecies in our literature seem to be an attempt of the Rabbinic preachers to adapt their sermons to the taste of the people. The whole course of history is thus filled with the miraculous, with foresight and providence, not with blind and, therefore, terrifying coincidence.

The prophet is not only equipped with the power to work miracles and to see the present and future, but both Rabbinic theology and popular thought attributed to him the power of effective intercession. His prayers are accepted, and owing to his intercession divine plans are cancelled. He pleads and argues for his people and tries to justify them by presenting their merits before the heavenly court. For their benefit he may even undergo vicarious sufferings.

Most outstanding in the Midrash is Moses' intercessory power (87), frequently connected with the accounts of the Golden Calf (88), of the plague (89), of the Red Sea, or of the Battle with Amalek (90). Abraham's prayer for Abimelech (91) and for the Sodomites (92), Samuel's (93) and Elijah's prayers (94), and Jeremiah's and Ezekiel's intercession before the fall of the Temple are other instances of this teaching (95). The Midrash mentions, further, the intercessory power of Adam (96); the extraordinary efficacy of David's prayer, which could bring the desired object from Heaven down to the earth (97), or save Israel from contempt (98); and Huldah's (99), Ezekiel's (100), Mordecai's (101) and Isaiah's intervening power (102). Lengthy chains of prophets and righteous men are given as examples for intercession (103), and the prophets as a whole are invested

with this task (104). The later Hellenistic world also believed in the power of prophetic intercession. Alexander of Abutonichos interceding power was famous (105).

There will be particular need for intercession in the days of the Messiah. On the day of Judgment, Isaiah (106), or God himself, assuming the role of a prophet (107), will plead for the sinners. The prayer of the eschatological prophets will be accepted (108). The idea of continuous intercession in the celestial sphere renders this task of the prophets a permanent one. The prophets thus become a focal-point of hope and confidence to the people. Elijah-Phinehas (109), Enoch-Metatron (110), who are immortal; Moses (111), who according to this passage never died; and certain angels, Michael above all, offer sacrifices (112) in the heavenly sanctuary on behalf of the people of Israel and intercede continuously for them, being their " סניגורין " (113). It is held that in this way Moses and the Patriarchs intervened for Israel after the fall of the Temple (114).

The terms for "intercede" are mainly למד זכות and סנגוריא לפרקליטות ... למד על (115). This term and עזין (cp., e.g., "Pessikta Rabbathi" 151a) stress the act of pleading and defending the accused in a juridicial manner. הפגיע ו.. and בקש רחמים, "Is." 49.16, 53.6, are also used

to denote intercession (116). A more common term is simply "to pray for".

The prophet's miraculous power for aiding the needy is not confined to his earthly career and to his heavenly or eschatological intercession. His mortal relics or his grave, are in the people's belief, still efficacious, still able to work miracles. The "cult" of the prophet's grave, worship and adornment, are to the present day part of popular piety in Palestine. This expression of popular religious feeling is very conspicuous in our period. The "building of the sepulchres of the prophets" and the garnishing of "the tombs of the righteous" (117) were scarcely based on a theological or historical appreciation of prophecy, but were rather the expression of the popular esteem of the miraculous efficacy of the prophets themselves. The detailed description of the location of the prophets' graves in Epiphanius' vitae can hardly be explained by a biographical interest only. This work may have served as a practical handbook or guide, as a "Baedeker", to the prophets' graves for the benefit of the worshipper. Epiphanius mentions the miraculous power of Jeremiah's bones and of the dust of his grave, which protected the Egyptians against the bites of venomenous animals through the intercession of the prophet. According to

Schermann, p. 82f., this story may go back to a local Egyptian legend. It was a general pagan belief that the hero's bones and ashes could work miracles; and the tomb was a centre of worship (118). Jacob requested not to be buried in Egypt, since the Egyptians might resort to his grave at the time of the Ten Plagues and induce him to pray for them to God (119). Legends and tales of miracles were attached to the graves of the Rabbis also, who, in the people's mind, were the successors of the prophets or prophets themselves. Their graves were honoured accordingly (120).

In popular religion prophecy could not be restricted to the past only, as the Rabbis desired. The highly estimed teachers of the people were made prophets themselves. They were believed to be in possession of the Holy Spirit (121). Without explicit mention of the Holy Spirit Rabbis guess the future (122). R. Shimon b. Gamaliel's saying that wherever the sages set their eyes there is either death or calamity, interpreted by Rabh, "Sotah" 46b, as the power to curse like the prophet in "2 Ki." 2.24, may have originally expressed the belief that the sage foresees the impending catastrophes. This is not the place to discuss again the highly controversial question, whether in the ordination of the Tannaitic and Amoraic Rabbis the ceremony of the laying on of hands

was still customary, and if so, whether this was or was not an expression of the belief in the "pneumatic" power of the Rabbis. In our period this ceremony may have become merely a symbolical sign for the investiture of authority in the legal sense. But there are signs enough that the people found the prophets in the Rabbis.

II

According to accepted beliefs there were many possibilities to become a prophet in the popular sense, viz., to have a glimpse into what the future had in store. It was believed that in the hour of death, when man approached the realm of mystery, he was able to foresee the future. Samuel the Small, though worthy to receive the Holy Spirit, was prevented from being a prophet on account of the wickedness of his generation. Nevertheless, in the hour of his death (123) he said: Shimon and Ishmael for the sword; and others for execution; and the rest of the people for spoil; and great tribulations will be afterwards" (124). This short oracle was uttered in Aramaic, the vernacular, and some sources mention this fact expressly. Its shortness, which is further stressed by an additional remark in

"j Sotah", viz., "they did not know what he said", increases the element of mystery and makes it similar to the usual forms of oracles. Ishmael b. Elisha, the "High Priest", on his pilgrimage through the celestial realm hears a voice which utters a similar oracle, this oracle also being Aramaic (125). There is Judah b. Baba's prophecy: "There will be misfortune", and the dying R. Eliezer's announcement (126) of R. Akiba's severe fate. These stories correspond to contemporary Hellenistic views. According to Cicero, de div., I # 30, the dying can foretell who of their friends or enemies will die soon after them, and in what succession. Posidonius knows of a Rhodian who named six morituri before his death. Calanus, before his execution, announces to Alexander the Great the latter's near end (127), just as Hector did to Achilles.

The dying are also able to see visions. Eleazar b. Shammua (128) and Stephen (129) saw events in Heaven before their martyrdom; and Isaiah conversed with the Holy Spirit (130). The idea of the vision of the martyr seems to have acquired a permanent place in the legends of martyrs. Isaac's vision before his virtual martyrdom, "Tanh." B 71a, may belong to this literary category. Furthermore, the whole "testament-literature" presents a dying patriarch in his vision

of the future (131). The biblical blessings of the daying patriarchs and of Moses were understood as prophecies concerning the future fate of Israel.

A vision of the "face of the shekhinah" is granted to the righteous in the hour of their death in anticipation of their future reward, and to the wicked also to shew them what they have forfeited. The popular or foreign idea of the dying person's vision has thus been transformed by Rabbinic considerations (132). David saw the shekhinah when he passed away (133); and Moses had a vision in the hour of his death "to teach that all the dead see" (134). The shekhinah or God's glory seems frequently to be the contents of these visions. A quotation from a lost version of the "Assumption of Moses" uses a variant of this idea: Joshua and Kaleb see a vision at the moment of Moses' death. Seth becomes a visionary at Adam's death according to the "Apocalypse of Moses" (135). The vision of the future reward in the hour of death is ascribed to all the Torah-teachers by "Tanh. Breshith" 1 and illustrated by a story (עשרה) about the dying Abbahu, who was shown thirteen streams of balsam (136).

The Greek idea that the detached soul, no longer bound by the fetters of the body, can utilize

its gift of prophetic insight by ascent into the sphere of reason, is hardly influential in this instance. Some other passages, however, betray its influence. "4 Ezra" 7.83-84 and 100-101 assert that after death the wandering souls "see" reward and punishment in store for the last days. The other Jewish examples of this type of prophecy, however, leave all the further details unexplained.

The nasciturus is the counterpart, the pendant, of the moriturus. Also the embryo or new-born babe can, therefore, be a prophet or visionary. The locus classicus for the nasciturus' prophetic power is the account of the embryos',(137) or the childrens' and sucklings' song at the Red Sea (138), where they recognized their God. The "Wisdom of Solomon", 10.20-21, has this Midrash in mind, which has a parallel in "Matth." 21.15-17. All these stories use "Ps." 8.2 as an illustration. David spoke "Ps." 103.1 when still in his mother's womb, and when he saw the stars and planets at his birth, he proclaimed the words of "Ps." 103.20 (139). In another Midrash he saw five worlds and composed Psalms on each of these occasions: one when he was still in his mother's womb, one when he was born, one when "he entered the light of the world and stepped hither and thither", one when he

died, and one he will see in the world to come (140). In "Midr. Ps." 8.3, #4, the sucklings and embryos talk to God, and according to Eleazar b. Shammua, ibid., 22.30, #32, the "little ones" "receive the face of the shekhinah" (141). John is filled with the Holy Spirit in his mother's womb (142). In a Christian apocalyptic work the newborn speak complete words which announce the last times (143). The example of Jeremiah, who had been chosen from his mother's womb to be a prophet, was interpreted as a biblical instance of this idea.

Different layers of thought can be traced in this material. The popular belief increased the mystery of birth by the mystery of the insight into the other world or the future. The Rabbis changed this idea to a certain extent by speaking of the embryo's education in the all-comprising Law rather than of its prophecy. They declared the embryo to be a religious personality (144), thereby increasing the Law's significance for man's life. Other rationalizing tendencies were brought about by Hellenistic motifs , which are, more or less, outside the sphere of popular religion. Such an amalgamation of Hellenistic ideas and midrashic thinking has taken place in the passages "Niddah" 30b (R. Simlai as author) and in a very different

variant, "Tanh. Pekude" #3. In these instances birth means the end of the prophetic power of the newborn child. This idea seems to allude to the above-mentioned Hellenistic theory of the soul. The soul is free for prophetic sight before birth, after death, in dreams and ecstasy. Indeed, the first mentioned Midrash compares this capacity of the unborn with thetof the dreamer in his sleep. Both Midrashim contain, furthermore, the Horus-Harpocrates motif, viz., the child bears a burning light on his head and is able to "see from one end of the world to the other" just as the "Sun-Horus of the Two Spheres" (145). R. Jochanan's Midrash of David's vision seems to have borrowed from these ideas (146).

Still another popular idea with a certain Rabbinic tinge is expressed by the belief that the soul of the child, still unstained by sin, has a share in the divine world. R. Simlai (Niddah 30b) believes that the embryo is taught by an angel, whereas according to "4 Ezra" 7.27 and "Tanh. B Tasria" #2 it is taught by God himself. A Gaonic source, "Kallah R." 2.9, states that the child is accompanied and instructed by an angel during his first years, as long as he is free from sin. Children before the age of puberty were used as seers for popular omens and magic prophecy

as, e.g., for prophecy from shining surfaces (147) ~~by~~ by Jews, Babylonians, Greeks and Romans alike (148).

A number of prophets are said to have started their career in their early childhood. The biblical Joseph receives dream-prophecies as a youth, but is punished by his unbelieving parents for his presumptiousness and sent to pasture the flocks. This motif has been transposed to David (149) who, when still a child, prophesies his own future achievements and is disbelieved and punished. A similar story is attributed in an often repeated Midrash to Miriam, whose father disbelieves her story of Moses', the future redeemer's birth and deeds, and even beats her for her audacity (150). Samuel's early prophetic experiences, mentioned by the biblical story, are elaborated by "Ps. Philo" 52 and 53.1ff. He receives detailed prophecies at the age of eight. Moses prophesies when three years old (151); and Abraham knows God at the same age (152). R. Jochanan, whose name is connected with quite a number of Midrashim which mention the idea of the prophesying embryo or child, emphasizes in the famous passage "BB" 12a-b that prophecy has been given to the children and madmen after it had been taken from the prophets. This statement seems not to be ironical, but expresses a serious

opinion on the part of the author as well as in the following discussion by the Gemara, which adduces some Babylonian examples (153). A Rabbinic variant of this popular motif is the story of the precocious child, who is a brilliant interpreter of the Law. This idea is reflected in Jesus' questions and answers in the Temple (154).

The insane or madman is holy in the belief of many peoples. The earlier biblical prophets appear to their contemporaries like madmen (155). Plato compares the state of prophetic ecstasy with the ecstasy of the insane (156). A Midrash which enumerates the different types of ecstasy mentions the ecstasy of sleep, of catalepsy, of prophecy, and of folly side by side (157). Words from the root שׁגה and שׁגע as titles of psalms allude in R. Shimon b. Lakish's opinion to the prophets and their prophecies (158).

The dream is another means of obtaining insight into the future, a substitute for prophecy, granted to man by God. The belief in the prophetic significance of dreams is common to biblical and post-biblical, to Jewish and non-Jewish texts alike (159).

Prophets and dreamers are mentioned side by side in the Bible, indicating the close connection

between prophecy and dreams (160). There are biblical prophets like Joseph, Jacob, Job and Daniel who receive their revelations in dreams. Dreams are, moreover, inspired, caused by the Holy Spirit like the genuine prophecy in the wakeful state of mind (161). The dream is a most prominent type of prophecy in the apocalyptic movement. But also for midrashic sources חלום is a synonym for prophet (162). In other opinions dreams are a lower or incomplete form of prophecy; 1/60 of prophecy (163); ששים חלק of prophecy (164); in need of interpretation with which genuine prophecy can dispense (165); and the last remaining, but inferior link between God and man after God's withdrawal from Israel (166).

There is a tendency, to be sure, as early as the pre-exilic period, to counteract the dream-prophecy. The higher type of prophets behold the vision while awake (167). Jeremiah, above all, fought the dream-prophets bitterly, e.g., in 23.16, 23.25f. and 25.37. Jesus b. Sirach declares dreams to be "wings to fools" and utter vanity (168). There are criticisms by R. Shimon b. Jochai and R. Berekhiah, who, however, do not altogether deny the significance of dreams (169). R. Meir's critical opinion is expressed by his famous sentence: דברי חלומות לא מעלין ולא מורידין (170); and in

"Agg. Ber." 67, p. 131, dreams are ascribed to evildoers only. Directions regarding money affairs given in dreams are not taken seriously by the Halakhah (171). In the enumeration of the names of prophecy the dream is missing (172). But the overwhelming majority of the Rabbis believed in the prophetic quality of dreams, prayed for them, accepted advice and omens from them, and acted as interpreters of the people's dreams (173).

There are dreams featuring apparitions of angels (174), the "dispenser of dreams" (בעל החלום) (175), and deceased persons (179); there are ethymological (176), symbolical (177), arithmetical (178) dreams, and those which show the actual future event. In most cases an interpretation was believed to be necessary; sometimes the turning of the bad into a good dream by prayer, fasting, benevolent deeds, or re-interpretation of the dream. Professional interpreters were known in Jerusalem (180), Babylonia (180), and throughout the Hellenistic world. Antiquity possessed a special literature dealing with dreams and their significance (181). The dreams played an immense role with the people and the "educated" alike, with Philo as well as with the Rabbinic sources, which offer a veritable Jewish ὀνειροκριτικά in the lengthy treatise on dreams in "Berakhoth" 55a-58a. L. Blau in his article in the "Jewish

Encyclopedia", s.v., "dreams", comes to the conclusion that "the Jews of antiquity held almost the same views regarding dreams as did other ancient peoples".

Many of these beliefs may be ancient and original with the Jews, others are acquired by contact with the classical centres of belief in dreams, viz., Egypt (182) and Babylonia (183). Some features of the Jewish belief are doubtless of Hellenistic origin. The soul "draws life from above" (184) or "wanders through the whole world", being in touch with every future event (185) during man's sleep; or, in Josephus' words: The "souls, when the body does not distract them, have the sweetest rest depending on themselves, and conversing with God, by their alliance to him; they then go everywhere, and foretell many futurities beforehand" (186). These sources have the aforementioned Hellenistic theory in mind that the soul is the seat of the prophetic power and acts prophetically when detached from the body. This idea is sometimes connected with the simile that the human soul is a bird (187).

Also psychological considerations about certain types of dreams which arise after the enjoyment of wine, food, after fasting, and after strenuous thinking are found in Jewish (188) and Western sources (189)

alike. Posidonius' and Cicero's classification of dreams, their division into three distinct groups, has been taken over by Philo (190) in a slightly different form. According to this classification dreams can be caused by God, who speaks to the dreamer or sends the dream. Or the soul, by means of its innate power, which is related to God, sees the future in the dream intuitively; finally, the soul contacts or moves to the sphere of the immortal spirits (with Cicero) or the one of "cosmic reason" (with Philo). This classification tries to raise the people's belief to a "scientific" level. These three types of dreams can be traced in the Talmudic sources also, where they do not form a conscious belief or a clear doctrine, but rather underly the different stories about dreams. But only the third group seems to be of Hellenistic origin.

Another type of "prophecy", accessible not to the prophets only, but also to others, is the "coincidental prophecy", a haphazard utterance which later proves to have been of far-reaching significance, anticipating the future. A few examples may suffice. Abraham uses the plural "We shall return" (Gen." 22.5), unwittingly prophesying that Isaac would not be sacrificed (191). Joseph's brethren say before him: "We all are the sons of one man" ("Gen." 42.13), including Joseph unwittingly

(191). Gehazi mentions his future leprosis (191), Moses, or all those with him (192), their death in the desert (191). The terminus technicus for such a coincidental prophecy is דעתו שלא התנבא (193) or התנבא ולא ידע מה התנבא (194). In some of these accounts of coincidental prophecy the Holy Spirit idea occurs. But the Spirit only "flashes" (נוצרה) for a moment in the prophet, and is just strong enough to put significant words into his mouth, he himself being entirely unaware of their true meaning (195). Later on his utterances prove to have possessed an oracular ambiguity. Other personalities to whom such prophecies have been ascribed are Abraham (196), Jacob (197), the "Fathers" (198), Joseph (199), Tamar (200), Hannah (201), Azariah (202), and Job (203). Non-prophets receiving such prophecies are Laban (204), Pharaoh (205), and his daughter (206).

"John" 11.51 seems to allude to this coincidental prophecy, which is also quite common in Hellenic and Hellenistic literature as examples in Herodotus III 153 (207), Cicero, de div. I 46, II 46, and Valerius Maximus I 5 (208) show. Caecilia Metella, e.g., once said to her niece coincidentally: "I leave my place (my seat) to you". These words proved to be an oracle when this niece, later on, married Caecilia's husband (209). Also according to the Jewish sources this type of oracle

may be put into an ordinary person's mouth. "BB" 12a gives two examples to prove the children's and the madmen's prophetic gift. A related form of prophecy is the belief in the prophetic significance of biblical quotations which come into people's mind when getting up in the morning. R. Jochanan calls this a "little prophecy" (210).

III

Rabbinic, gnostic and popular beliefs speak of all the aforementioned types of prophecy (of those caused by instinct or inspriation, by ecstasy or dream, by direct contact with God, angels or spirits, and even of the coincidental prophecy) as of נבואה, or, at least, as of a lower type of נבואה, of prophecy. It is interesting to note that these types of prophecy correspond to the categories which the Romans called <u>divinatio naturalis</u>, "natural divination" (211). Natural divination is contrasted with "artificial" or "conjectural divination", <u>divinatio artificiosa</u>, which needs a certain knowledge and technique, experience and observation, applied not to man's visions and auditions, inner perceptions or utterances, but to prodigies, signs and constellations in nature (212). Astrology, e.g., and interpretations of omens are such types of artificial

divination.

Kleromancy, however, the casting of lots, would according to the Jewish sources belong to the higher type of divination, viz., to divinatio naturalis. This surprising classification can probably be explained by the conjecture that the diviner was believed to be inspired and guided by inspiration when casting the lots. Joshua divides the Holy Land by lot and, simultaneously, under the inspiration of the Holy Spirit (213). Apart from the biblical instances (214), Moses (215), Eldad and Medad (216), and the prophets of the Second Temple (217) used lots for various divinatory decisions; and the priestly oracle, the Urim and Tummim, are frequently mentioned as working together with the Holy Spirit (218).

Although held in high esteem and practised under the auspices of the state, artificial or conjectural divination was, nevertheless, rejected or believed to represent a lower type of prognostication by the Peripatetics and others (219). Jewish popular religion seems to have known most of these types of artificial divination, but Jewish sources never call them "Nebhuah", whether approving of them or rejecting them. A number of sources, mostly of Tannaitic origin, reject some of these divinatory practices, just as most Christian

authorities do (220). Most of the well-known methods of artificial divination are mentioned to illustrate and repeat the biblical prohibitions (221), or to express general disapproval of these methods, like the third "Sibylline Book", 224 (which emphasizes that Jews do not consider omens), "Pes." 113b, or the denial of the power of the stars on Israel. Philo's condemnation of all the forms of artificial divination is whole-hearted (222). The vascillating attitude of the Rabbis, however, i.e., their compromise with popular religion, is best illustrated by the statement of a Palestinian Amora: שאין נחש יש סימן אף על פי (223), or by R. Eleazar's deprecation of the skill of soothsayers and necromantics (224) which does not deny a certain measure of power to them. The practice of magic had to be known by scholars and judges and was, although prohibited, widely used (225) and even legal in the case of exorcisms (226). The main reason for these prohibitions may have been the fact that the practice of some types of divination has been connected with idolatry, or led easily to it (227) by consulting pagan diviners. Another reason was probably the well-known foreign origin of these types of divination, which were, therefore, in the eyes of the Midrash a monopoly of foreign kings and tyrants. It was their close donnection with paganism, not a protest against the theoretical basis of divination, which led

the teachers of the Law to caution Israel against all these techniques.

The theoretical basis of artificial divination, the belief in the power of demons, spirits, and the souls of the dead; in the meaning of astrological constellations; the efficacy of magic; and the prophetic significance of omens were very rarely doubted. In the popular belief the behaviour of animals and children, the reaction of various objects, all unforeseen, sudden, rare, spectacular, or mysterious events had a bearing on the future. The fall of the Second Temple was anticipated by various omens (228). There were signs before approaching death (229). We find the knowledge or practice of augury, pyromancy, lekanomancy, necromancy, and many others, even the tripudium, the feeding of chickens, in the Jewish sources (230).

There is evidence for a wide-spread belief in propitious days or hours, although some Tannaitic protests against this belief can also be found (231). It can be said that as a whole Jewish popular belief was in line with the ideas of the Hellenistic and Roman world in which divination of this sort played such an immense role (232).

The most prominent art of divination was astrology. There are some fundamental statements against

its use or usefulness (233), and some in favour of it (234). The evidence of its wide diffusion comes from midrashic stories on biblical personalities, and to a smaller extent on post-biblical or non-Jewish figures (235). Parables demonstrating God's foresight frequently use the astrologer as a simile (236). Great delight is shown in inventing stories which feature erroneous interpretations of wicked Jewish or pagan magicians and astrologers. It was known to the Egyptian astrologers that Israel's redeemer would suffer punishment from water. This led Pharaoh to issue the order of drowning all the new-born males. The sign was right: Moses was punished for his attitude at "the waters of Meribah", but the interpretation of the astrologers was incorrect (237). The significance and efficacy of astrology is never denied in these stories (238). Prophecies of impending calamities frequently do not materialize, because these calamities have been cancelled by benevolent deeds of the repentant person. They thus appear to be false in the eyes of the on-looker (239).

A word may be devoted to necromancy, which is well known and elaborately described by our texts, but classed with idolatry and consequently prohibited (240). It is, however, believed to be real and effi-

cacious by most sources (241). People listen to the conversation of the dead (242); and Onkelos consulted the spirits of the dead prophets before his conversion to Judaism (243). Rabh practised a very similar kind of divination (244). The "Spirit of Uncleanness", which could reveal the future, was frequently sought by fasting and nightly visits to the cemeteries (245).

Another kind of divination needs some further consideration. It is the prophecy taken from a mirror, κατοπτρομαντεία (246). The object perceived in the mirror gives the answer to the query in the mind of the questioner (247). In Hellenistic and Jewish sources the practice of many different types of gazing at lucid surfaces (lekanomancy), like oil (248), water, chrystals, wax, metals, and finger-nails, was a well-known means to obtain a presage of the future (249). Katoptromancy is the technique mentioned by the "Historia Augusta", Did. Iulian., VII.9, and, in a different form, Pausanias, VII, 21.12. Rabbinic sources believe that Jacob, who was deprived of the Holy Spirit since he had lost Joseph, resorted to this technique (250), and that Moses chose his assistants by means of a mirror (251). In many texts the mirror is used as a simile for prophetic vision (252). The Hellenistic usage of mirror-prophecy, the use of the foreign term

ספקלריא(א)(specularia, lapis specularis) for this mirror instead of Hebrew מראה or זכוכית, and the allusion to the "habit of the kings" in "Mekhiltha" suggest a foreign origin of this technique (253).

It was a wide-spread belief of antiquity that a sudden sound, any wanton and unexpected noise, even the rustling of the laurel were invested with significance. The more theological conception of the "Bath Kol" may be based, as we have seen, on popular beliefs. Voices as omens, -not the usual "Bath Kol"-, are mentioned in "j Shab." 8c and "Meg." 32a. According to Josephus, "Bell." V, 5.3, a sound "as of a great multitude saying: 'Let us remove hence'" was heard in the Temple before its fall.

Popular religion ascribed prophetic power not to Jewish prophets only. The prophets or diviners of the heathen also were believed to be proficient. In most beliefs , however, their prophecy was of a lower type; their perception was not clear and distinct and their interpretation frequently erroneous (254). But Jewish tradition also spoke of some biblical pagan prophets of the higher or highest type, like Balaam and Job's friends. The recognition of the prophetic power of others who do not belong to the same religious or

national group had a parallel in the limited recognition of the pagan oracles and of divination by the early Church. According to the Church the pagan art of prognostication was inspired by demons or by the devil and, consequently, not entirely vain or inefficacious (255). Augustine recognized the "Sibylline Books" as genuine prophecies; and Lactantius quotes Hellenistic oracles as proofs for Christian doctrines (256). There are others, of course, who condemned pagan prophecies as impostures and superstitions (257). Foreign prophetic books enjoyed particular respect in the Hellenistic time, and the teachings of the wandering prophets found adherents throughout the known world (258).

The popular belief was thus characterized by the tendency to see the prophetic power working at every place and in every period, in all nations and cults, in the past, present, and future. We could almost speak of a tendency toward "Pan-Prophetism". The consequence was, as we have seen, that the Rabbis were not too successful in their attempt to assign to prophecy a place only in the past. The people had their prophets in the Rabbis, in all the righteous and "saints", in the wandering pseudo-prophets, in the popular diviners and dream-interpreters, and until the fall of the Temple in the political prophecy of the Zealots, in the ascetic prophecy of the Essenes, and in the representative,

cult-bound prophecy of the priesthood. There was, furthermore, the enlarged host of biblical prophets, who were close to the people even in their world beyond. The great role which prophecy played in the early Christian communities may have been created by this tendency of Jewish and Hellenistic popular belief.

In the popular religion the prophet, although a helper in need and a seer of the future, has never been put on a pedestal, removed from the people's intimate proximity. In spite of all the admiration he received and in spite of the supernatural qualities bestowed upon him, the prophet never ceased to be a familiar figure to the people. This attitude towards the prophet finds its expression in a characteristic tendency of the Midrash, viz., to identify anonymous figures in the biblical account with well-known prophets. The resulting effect is, that the "gaps" of the biblical account are filled and that the figures of the prophets gain new colour and become more human and familiar. We may add a list of the more important identifications:

Shem/Melchizedek	Sed. Ol. 21; Gen. R. 26.4, etc.
Sarah/Jiskah	Sed. Ol. 2, etc.
Abraham/Ethan the Ezrahite	BB 15a
Dinah/Job's first or second wife	Targ. Job 2.9, Test. Job (25[illegible])

Elihu/Balaam (or Isaac)	j Sotah 20d (ibid.)
Hur is Bezalel's father, Caleb's and Miriam's son	cp. Ginzb. VI, p. 63, n. 325.
Shiphrah and Puah/ Jochebed and Miriam	S Num. 78, etc.
Phinehas/anon. prophet (Jud. 6.8)	Sed. Ol. 20
Phinehas/angel (Jud. 2.1)	Sed. Ol. 20
Phinehas/Elijah	S Num. 131; Ps. Philo lf.(260)
Bnei Korah (Ps.)/ Bne Korah (Ex.6.24)	Sed. Ol. 20.
Barak/Deborah's husband	Targ. Jud. 5.23; Ps. Jerome, Jud. 5.1.
Elkanah/anan. prophet (I Sam. 2.27)	Sed. Ol. 20; Ps. Jerome ibid.
" 's ancestor/Asaph, Korah's son	Sed. Ol. 20; PR 181b
Prophet (1 Ki. 13.11ff) /Levite (Jud. 17) or	j Ber. 13d
Prophet (1 Ki. 13.11ff) /Amaziah (Am.7.10)	j Ber. 13d
Amaziah (Am. 7.10)/ /prophet (2 Ki. 3.11ff) (261)	J Sanh. 30b
Amaziah and Amos (Is.1.1) are brothers	Meg. & Sotah 10b
" /prophet (2 Chr.25.7, 16)	Sed. Ol. 20
Joel/Samuel's son	Midr. Sam. 1, 23a
Bath-sheba/Ahithophel's grand daughter	Sanh. 101b
Ahijah/anon. prophet (1 Ki. 11.11ff.)	Sed. Ol. 20

Micaiah (1 Ki. 22.8) /Micah	PR 150b, PRK 135b, Epiph. p. 61
" / anon. prophet (1 Ki. 20.13, 22, etc.)	Sed. Ol. 20; Jos. Ant. VIII 14.15
Obadiah (1 Ki. 18.3ff.) /Obadiah	S Num. 133; Epiph. p. 54f; Jerome, Introd. Obadiah;
"/ son of widow	Epiph., Schermann p. 58
Joam, or Joath, Jaaok, Iadom, etc.(262) /prophet (1 Ki. 12.28ff)	Jos. Ant. VII, 8.5; Epiph. pp. 105, 123
Iddo (2 Chr. 12.15) /prophet (1 Ki. 13.2; 3.11ff.; 13.16ff.)	Sed. Ol. 20; j Sanh. 30b
Habakkuk/son of the Shunamite	Schermann p. 23
Jonah/son of widow (263)	j Sukkah 55a; PRE 33
Son of widow/Messiah of the Tribe of Joseph	Lam. R. 18; Str.-B. I 642f.
Hozai (2 Chr. 33.19) /Isaiah	Ps. Jerome 2 Chr. 33.19
Belchira (Melchira)(264) /Zedekiah b. Chenaanah's uncle	Asc. Is. 2.12f.
Zedekiah (1 Ki. 22.24) is (1 Ki. 18.19)	the teacher of the Baalite prophets ibid.
Uriah & Zechariah (Is. 8.2)/prophets Uriah & Zechariah	gloss, Zech. 1.1 (265), S Dt. 43, Makk. 24b
Zechariah b. Jehoiada (2 Chr. 24.17ff.)/prophet Zechariah (266)	Matth. 23.35; Luke 11.51; Epiph. p. 125;
" /John's father	Tertullian, scorp. c.8 (Schermann p. 107)
Azariah/ Oded	Epiph. p. 108
Jeremiah's father/one of the persecuted prophets under Jezebel	Gen. R. 17

Zephaniah / Jeremiah's teacher	PR 129b
Zerubbabel / Nehemiah	Sanh. 38a
Malachi / Ezra	Meg. 15a; Targ. Mal. 1.1, Jerome Introd. Mal.
Malachi / Mordecai	Meg. 15a.
Mordecai / Bilshan (Neh. 7.7)	Men. 65b; Targ. Cant. 7.3
Ezra, Mordecai, Zerubbabel, Nehemiah, Joshua (Ezra 5.2) and the three companions of Daniel were prophets in the Great Assembly	ARN 1.2, Tos. Erub. 11.22, etc.

Almost all of these identifications are of Tannaitic origin.

Additions

Prophesying of babes:

In the Ben Sira Legend, Ben Sira speaks and prophesies at birth. When one year old, he excels at the talmudic academy, (cp. Ginzberg VI, p. 402, who suggests that the Gospel of the Childhood of Jesus may habe been the model for this polemic legend. "II Alphabeth of Ben Sira").

Melchizedek immediately after his birth spoke and blessed the Lord (cp. "Melchizedek fragments"; cp. Ginzberg, Index).

The generations of the ante-diluvians were endowed with the gift of speech after their birth (Gen.R. 36.1; Lev. R. 5.1, etc.).

The messianic task of the prophets (cp. p. 263):

The prophets will sing a hymn (Sanh. 92a, Chiyya bar Abba); assemble to comfort Jerusalem (Lam. Z. on 1.3); and remove the sword on earth (III Sib. 781).

The miraculous power of the graves of the prophets (cp. pp. 274-75):

A biblical example is the resurrection of a corpse on Elisha's grave, 2 Ki. 13.20f., mentioned by Josephus, Ant. IX 8.6 and "Ecclesiasticus" 48.13 (read: אחרי).

For the medieval legends on Joseph's grave cp. Ginzberg, Index.

The magic impregnability of the prophets:

For Jeremiah's invulnerability cp. above, p. 7. Cp., furthermore, PRK 115 bf., Eccl. R. 3.16; 10.6; Sanh. 103a, etc.

For Isaiah's invulnerability cp. the Isaiah-legends (cp. Ch. II).

Samuel had to be sent away before the disastrous battle against the Philistines, since his presence would have prevented such a disaster (Ps. Philo 55.1-2).

Abraham is inviolable in Gen. R. 42.3 and Midr. Ps. 110.

He who sees the face of the shekhinah does not die (Tanh. B Yithro 14, on Prov. 16.15; author: R. Levi).

Jeroboam's hand withered (2Ki. 13.4) when he stretched out his arm against the prophet, but not when he lifted it toward the idols, thus offending God (Tanh. Toldoth 12).

Results

In popular religion the prophet is highly valued as a thaumaturge and helper in distress, both biblical prophets and contemporary figures, amongst them the greater Rabbis. The idea of the Messiah has come under the influence of this belief. The Messiah bears prophetic traits; some prophets or all the prophets are supposed to have their part in the messianic events. -- The figure of the philosopher in Hellenistic popular thought resembles in many respects the popular Jewish conception of the prophet.

The prophets were believed to be able to see the mysteries of the past, of the present (as clairvoyants), and of the future alike. The object of their knowledge, however, was frequently very trivial, reflecting the people's desires and needs. The efficacy of the prophets as helpers in distress was immensely increased by the intercessory power which they possessed, still possess (interceding in the Heavenly Realm), and which they will possess again in the last days. Even their mortal relics were believed to work miracles.

According to popular beliefs any man can become a prophet in certain situations. Prophets and also ordinary men have visions in the hour of their deaths.

Here and in the belief that the embryo or babe may have visions Hellenistic thought is traceable, viz., the theory of the soul, which, detached from the body, can gaze upon the "ideas" or contact the divine. Similar to the beliefs of other peoples and religions madmen, and above all, children, as purer beings, may be able to prophesy. These popular beliefs have been slightly transformed by the Rabbis in some cases in order to glorify the Law.

Although there was a movement directed against the belief in the prophetic significance of dreams, dreams were officially recognized as meaningful and were interpreted by the Rabbis. Some of the theories underlying the belief in the prophetic significance of dreams are evidently of Hellenistic origin.

The belief in coincidental, but half-inspired utterances, anticipating the future, is found in both Hellenistic and Rabbinic sources.

The fundamental distinction between "natural" and "artificial" divination (divinatio naturalis and divinatio artificiosa) and their respective evaluations, found with the Hellenistic philosophers, has a remote parallel in the talmudic evaluation of the same classes of divination.

The Jewish sources mention the main types of contemporary divination such as kleromancy, necromancy, astrology, katoptromancy, augury, lekanomancy, and the knowledge of omina of various kinds. In spite of warnings and prohibitions most of these divinatory practices were widely employed. Jewish popular thought in this field is particularly close to that of the Hellenistic, Roman and Oriental worlds, and in all probability borrows from them in some cases.

The Jewish people of our period saw prophets not only in their own representative contemporaries (in spite of the theological doctrine of the end of the Holy Spirit), but also shared with other ancient peoples the belief in the efficacy of some foreign prophets. It is the tendency of the age to see the working of the prophetic power everywhere and at all times.

Notes

1) Cp. Zeitlin, p. 17f.

2) Ant. XX, p. 97f., 167ff., 188; Bell. II, 261ff., etc., ed. Naber.

3) Ruah Nebhuah.

4) Matth. 16.14, 17.11, 21.11, 46; Mk. 9.12; Lk. 7.16, 19.19, 24.19; Acts 3.22, 7.37; John 4.29f., 7.14, 23f., 37; 1.21, 6.14, 7.40.

5) Test. Levi 8.15, 18.7.

6) Ps. Sal. 17.42.

7) de spec. leg. I 65.

8) M. Gaster, Samar. Eschatol. 247.

9) LXX Mal. 3.23.

10) Ecclus. 48.10.

11) Eduy. 8.7, Mi. On Elijah as an authority for halakhic questions cp. Ch. I.

12) Sanh. 98b; j Targ. Dt. 30.4, Num. 25.17; PRE 47; Midr. Ps. 43; Cant. R. 1.1, Midr. Prov. 19.21, P R 13a; Str.-B. IV, 779-98.

13) 2 Macc. 15.13ff.

14) Eccl. R. 11.2, R. Eliezer.

15) Schermann, Epiph., Greek text, pp. 83, 89.

16) John 11.3, W. Bousset, Antichrist, p. 208.

17) Schermann, p. 31.

18) Cp. Ch. III.

19) Ginzberg VI, p. 341, n. 114.

20) Jos. Ant. XX, 5.1.

21) Cp. n. 15.

22) R. Johanan b. Zakkai is given as the author (pseudepigraphically?). The passage of Gen. R. 30.8 (Adam is destined for death, Moses for redemption) seems not to be eschatological. The eschatological interpretation of "And he (Moses) shall come with the heads of the people", Dt. 33.21, in S Dt. 33.21, #355, speaks of Moses' reward only, not of his activities in the "end-time".

23) A far-reaching comparison between Moses and Elijah is made in PR 12a-b. This passage, however, does not deal with their eschatological tasks.

24) Parallel is the teaching that the Book of Esther will remain valid even in the world to come on account of the story on self-sacrifice contained in it (j Meg. 70a, Shimon b. Lakish).

25) R. Simlai, Sotah 14a.

26) 2 Sam. 24.17 in Mekh. Ex. 12.1.

27) S Num. 25.13, #131.

28) R. Jonathan in Mekh. Ex. 12.1, R. Akiba in Yeb. 98b, Jerome on Jonah 1.6.

29) Midr. Ps. 26.7, p. 220.

30) PRE 10; Midr. Jonah 97ff.; Tanh. Vayikra 8.

31) Cp. the list at the end of this chapter. Also the "Messiah, Son of David" entered Paradise alive, Derekh Erets Z. 1 end, ed. Tawrogi.

32) Matth. 12.39, Luke 11.29; against Ginzberg VI p. 351, n. 38.

33) Cp. Murmelstein, vol. 36, p. 57 ff.

34) Some texts read Zedekiah; Sukkah 52b, etc., cp. Ch.III.

35) Ginzberg V, p. 130, n. 142.

36) R. Johanan in Sanh. 91b.

37) Book of Zerubbabel, Jellinek III, pp. 54-57.

38) Jonah's, Joshua's and the prophets' messianic tasks have been overlooked by Volz, Eschatologie.

39) R. Reitzenstein, Hellenistische Wundererzaehlungen, p. 8ff.

40) P. Fiebig has collected numerous examples in his "Rabbinische Wundererzaehlungen".

41) Taan. 45a; j Taan. 64a.

42) PR 131a; 2 Bar. 2.1-2.

43) Midr. Agg. Num. 30.15 and Apocr. Anecdota II, p. 164.

44) Targ. Esth. 4.1, etc.

45) Targ. Cant. 7.10, 11; Lev. R. 27.4 (Eliezer b. Halafta) offers various examples.

46) Mekh. Ex. 13.19, Sotah 13a, etc.; Kittel, Probleme, p. 169ff. Cp. Ch. I. Cp. the Midrashim on the last chapter of Deutoronomy and special Midrashim on Moses' death in Jellinek's collection.

47) According to Nock, p. 174ff.

48) Platon, Pythagoras, etc.

49) Midr. Tann., p. 63; S Dt. 83 and 84; much material of Tannaitic and Amoraic origin: Str.-B. I 726, 640-44, II 480, e.g., S Dt. 177, j Sanh. 30c, etc.

50) S Dt. on Dt. 13.2, #83 and #84, Sanh. 90a.

51) Ant. XX, 5.1, 8.6; Bell. II, 13.5.

52) Str.-B. ibid. 53) j Hor. 14b, Hor. 13a and 11.

54) Ant. X, p. 28, XX, p. 162.

55) Schermann, pp. 30-31.

56) 1 Sam. 10.2; 1 Ki. 14.5f. Further examples: Is. 7.3, Jer. 32.7f., Ez. 24.16, 33.22, 1 Sam. 9.15, 17, 1 Ki, 21.18. Part of these sources, however, refer to God as the revealer of the mystery, not to clairvoyance.

57) Men. 92a, R. Jonathan.

58) Gen. R. 52; BK 102a, Makk. 9b, etc.

59) אמר אי"ר, Mekh. on Ex. 15.9, MRSJ, p. 65.

60) As the examples show (Mekh. on Ex. 16.31. R. Jossai as author. MRSJ, p. 79).

61) S Dt. 17, etc. 62) ARN, B 45, p. 125.

63) Num. R. 21, on 26.53.

64) Mekh. on Ex. 18.21, R. Joshua.

65) Mekh. on Ex. 12.36, R. Eliezer b. Jacob.

66) Gen. R. 84.19, j Targ. ibid., R. Hunya.

67) Sanh. 43b.

68) By the Holy Spirit, Ruth R. 1.6; by an angel, Targ. ibid.

69) 2 Targ. Esth. 4.1, 1 Targ. Esth. ibid.

70) PR 10b.

71) By the Holy Spirit, Tanh. Toldoth 10.

72) By the Holy Spirit, Midr. Sam. 10, 39b.

73) Mekh. Ex. 18.21. 74) Targ. Esth.

75) Matth. 26.68 and Luke 22.63; Luke 7.39, Acts 5.1ff., John 1.29, 4.29f.

76) Tos. Pes. 1.27; Lev. R. 37, etc.

77) Tos. Yeb. 14.10, without mention of the Holy Spirit.

78) עפר , j Sheb. 38d and parallels.

79) Which exists in different recensions: A, j Sotah 16d; Zebadiah is the tradent; B, anon., Lev. R. 9.9; C, Dt. R. 5.15, Hebrew text; A and B in Aramaic. In version C the prophet Elijah replaces the Holy Spirit.

80) De Ei apud Delphos 5; De Pyth. orac. 26.

81) Jehuda b. Pazzi, j Ber. 14b or Hanina b. Pazzi, Gen. R. 72.6.

82) Gen. R. 67.9, R. Isaak. 83) Sotah 13a on Gen. 27.45.

84) Yalk. Shim. Gen. 26. 85) Gen. R. 70.12.

86) Ruth R. 5.2 on 2.10

87) Cp. Jer. 15.1; Sotah 14a, R. Simlai.

88) Ber. 7a, 32a, Meg. 24a, Yoma 36b, BB 8a, Sotah 14a, Midr. Ps. 90.1, #6, 3 Enoch 48a. 6.

89) Num. R. 16.

90) And other biblical stories, cp. Ginzberg III, pp. 124, 133, 380-81, IV 309, 416, VI 173.

91) Gen. 20.7, Gen. R. 52. 92) Tanh. B Vayar 9.

93) 1 Sam. 12.23; for Saul: Taan. 5b.

94) PR 52a-b. 95) Ruth R. 2, R. Nehemiah.

96) For David: Mird. Ps. 92, etc.

97) Hag. 12b.

98) Sotah 49a.

99) Meg. 14b.

100) Yelamdenu, Yalk. Shim. II, #358.

101) Meg. 12b and Targumim on Esth. 2.5.

102) PR 151a, R. Shimon.

103) 4 Ezra 7.106-110; Midr. Ps. 90.1, #6, R. Sam. b. Nachman, PR 143b.

104) 2 Bar. 85.12; 4 Ezra 7.106-110, Midr. Ps. ibid., Ex. R. 46.

105) Fascher, p. 203.

106) Alph. R. Akiba, 33-34.

107) Tanh. Tisso 32.

108) Mekh. on Ex. 14.24.

109) Cp. V. Aptowitzer, The Heavenly Temple in the Agada, Tarbiz II, No. 2 and No. 3, Jerusalem, pp. 137-53, 257-87. On Elijah: The Tanh.-Midrashim and the Targumim on "Pinchas", beginning.

110) The Enoch-literature.

111) Midr. Tann., p. 224.

112) On the victims of these sacrifices cp. Aptowitzer, p. 265. They are lambs and goats, or the "likeness of them", or the souls, deeds and prayers of the righteous.

113) The role of the prophets is very close to that of the angels (as mentioned before).

114) PR 26, 131. Abraham: Men. 53b. Rachel intervenes: Lam. R. Introd. 24, Lam. Z. 63, 66-67, 71-73, etc. On the great lament of the prophets cp. Ginzberg VI, pp. 397ff., n. 39. The Zohar speaks of God's tears, shed for the suffering of Israel, (according to Ginzberg, loc. cit., based on Ber. 59a), another example for the idea that God acts the way the prophets act.

115) Tanh. Tisso 32; Tanh. B Vayera 9, etc.

116) 3 Enoch 48a. 6.

117) Matth. 23.29, cp. Luke 11.47f.

118) H. Delehaye, The Legends of the Saints, tr. V.M. Crawford, London, 1907, pp. 160ff.

119) Ginzberg II, p. 129; Gen. R. 96.5, Tanh. Vayehi 3, Tanh. B I, pp. 213-14, MHG I, p. 709-11.

120) J. Jeremias, II B, p. 114.

121) Shimon b. Jochai, j Sheb. 38d; Johanan b. Zakkai, Yoma 39b; Gamaliel II, cp. above; R. Meir, j Sotah 198a, Lev. R. 9.9, Num. R. 9.30.

122) e.g., Juda b. Bava, Semachoth 8. Cp. above.

123) זשעת תורות has become almost a terminus technicus.

124) Tos. Sotah 13.2-4. Slight variants j Sotah 24b, b Sanh. 11a, Cant. R. on 8.6, etc. Cp. Bacher, Tannaiten I, p. 370, n. 4.

125) Assarah Haruge Malkhuth, Jellinek VI.

126) Sanh. 68a, Baraitha.

127) Cicero, de div. I 23. The forms of the Jewish and Latin records are too different from each other to be compared for further conclusions.

128) Cp. n. 125. 129) Acts 7.55f.

130) Asc. Is. 5.14.

131) Apart from the actual testament-literature (The Testament of the Patriarchs, etc.), e.g., Ps. Philo 19.10 (Moses), 28.6 (Kenaz). Eleazar the Priest prophesies to Phinehas in the same book. Jacob, on his deathbed, forecasts the Tabernacle, Yalk. Shim. Cant. 1.11.

132) Midr. Ps. 22.30, #32, R. Johanan.

133) Midr. Ps. 103.1, #3, by the same author.

134) Midr. Tann., p. 228, from Sifre Deut. 34.10.

135) Both examples Ginzberg VI, p. 164, n. 952.

136) Variant Tanh. Vayehi 4.

137) Ber. 50b, R. Meir.

138) R. Jossai ha Gelili, Sotah 30b; Tanh. Beshallah 11, etc., cp. Bacher, Tannaiten, I 2, p. 358, II, p. 482.

139) Ber. 10a, Lev. R. 4.7. R. Johanan for R. Shimon b. Jochai.

140) Midr. Ps. 103.1, #3, R. Johanan.

141) This statement is used to complete R. Johanan's similar statement about the hour of death, ibid.

142) Luke 1.15-17, cp. Luke 7.28, Matth. 11.11.

143) Quoted by Weinel in Eucharistherion for Gunkel, from C. Schmidt and J. Wajnberg: Gespraeche Jesu mit seinen Juengern nach der Auferstehung.

144) Cp. R. Meyer, p. 85ff.

145) According to R. Meyer, pp. 108ff.

146) Cp. the expressions "when he goes out to the air of the world", Niddah, with "when he goes out to the light of the world", Midr. Ps.; the variants "air", אויר, and "light", אור, may be the result of an error. Note also the absence of visions of "worlds" during David's lifetime.

147) Cp. Daiches, Babylonian Oil Magic in the Talmud, London, 1913.

148) Pauly-Wissowa, Suppl. XIV, 1, 1399, Mantike.

149) Midr. Tann., p. 10.

150) Mekh. Shirah 10, MRSJ p. 71, Sotah 12a-13a, etc.

151) Jellinek I, Midr. of Moses' death, pp. 15-29.

152) Ginzberg V, p. 209, n. 13.

153) These examples, however, do not represent genuine prophecies, but rather "coincidental prophecy" (to be discussed later).

154) Luke 2.40ff.

155) 2 Ki. 9.11, Hos. 9.7, Jer. 29.26.

156) Timaios 71E-72B.

157) Gen. R. 17.5, 44.17, Sed. Ol. 21, Midr. Ruth 1, Yalk. Shim. Prov. 19.15, Sam. #139.

158) In the sense of mantic prophecy, Midr. Ps. 7.1, #3.

159) Church fathers recognized dreams which were sent by God; Tertullianus, de anima 46; Lactantius. Other dreams were sent by demons (Tertullianus).

160) 1 Sam. 28.6, 16; Dt. 13.2, 4; Joel 2.28, 3.1; Jer. 23, 25-32, 27.9, 29.8; Job 4.13, 7.14.

161) Gen. 41.38, 39 (Elohist). Daniel. Cp. also Baer, p. 40.

162) ARN, A 34, p. 102, B 37, p. 95 and parallels. S Dt. 83, on Dt. 13.2; Gen. R. 64.5, R. Johanan.

163) Ber. 57b, anon.

164) Gen. R. 17.5 and 44.17. (Hanina b. Isaak).

165) Late text, Midr. Agg. p. 119; 18.

166) Hag. 5b.

167) Gen. 15.12, 1 Sam. 3.3, 4, 2 Sam. 7.4, etc., Zech. 1.8, 4.1.

168) Ch. 5 and 31.1-8. 169) Ber. 55a.

170) Hor. 13a, Gittin 52a.

171) Tos. Maas. Sheni 5.9 and Sanh. 30a.

172) Gen. R. 44.6, ARN A 34, B 37.

173) JE: Dreams, Str.-B. I 53ff., III 672, Kittel, TH. W. III, 438.

174) Apocalypses; NT: Matth. 2.19, Acts 10.1ff. Terrifying angels: Yoma 22b.

175) The angel in charge of the dreams, Tos. Maas. Sheni 5.9 and Sanh. 30a.

176) e.g., Ber. 56b, R. Ishmael: dream on Kappadocia; Kappa is beam or pole, deka ten. The meaning of the dream is: money is hidden in one of ten beams. Hellenistic parallels to ethymological dream-interpretation: Artemidorus 4.5, 21.19, 63.21, 100.9, 183.14, etc.

177) Ber. 56a-57b. Cicero, de div. I 53. Artemidorus 410f., 6.1: " ἀλληγορικός ".

178) Arithmanteia, based on an interpretation of the numerical value of the letters of the main object in the dream, was probably known to the Jewish people, since this method was popular for biblical exegesis. It has been cultivated by Greek dream-science and by the gnostics. Cp. Artemidorus' ἰδιόφρος, 179.26, 217.3, 216.1ff.

179) Saul, Manasse, a Rabbi's father, etc., Yoma 22b, Sanh. 102b, Taan. 24b, Eccl. R. 9.10.

180) Early Tannaitic, Ber. 55b; - Ber. 56a.

181) A Hebrew dream-book is mentioned in Ber. 56a; Cp. Philo, de somn.; cp. Artemidorus 2.11, 148.22.

182) Cp. the Joseph-story.

183) Note the great role of the dream in the Babylonian Talmud.

184) Gen. R. 14.19, R. Meir.

185) PRE 24.

186) Bell. VII, 8.7. Transl. by Whiston.

187) Cp. V. Aptowitzer, Die Seele als Vogel, MGWJ, 1925, pp. 150ff.

188) Ber. 55a, R. Hisda; Ber. 56b, R. Johanan; Ber. 56a, story about Joshua b. Hanina and the emperor, and about R. Samuel and King Sapor.

189) Cicero, ibid.

190) de somnis I, 189, ed. Cohn-Wendland.

191) ARN, B 43, p. 118.

192) According to a variant and to BB 119a.

193) Sotah 13a, Hama b. Hanina.

194) ARN ibid., BB 119a.

195) Gen. R. 84.19, 85.9, 91.7.

196) ARN ibid; Midr. Cant. Z. on 1.1: sees the future place of the sanctuary.

197) ARN ibid. : Joseph is still alive; Gen. R. 84.19, Hunya: Jacob mentions Potiphar's wife as the "wild beast"; his blessing is full of hidden allusions to the future: Tanh. Vayehi 6; j Targ. Gen. 48.16.

198) Mekh. on Ex. 15.17.

199) ARN ibid.: sees Israel's booty at the exodus.

200) Gen. R. 85.9, Hunya: she mentions Israel's future kingdom, the Sanhedrin and the Messiah.

201) ARN ibid.: Saul's and Samuel's simultaneous death; in her prayer: Targ. 1 Sam. 2.1-4, Ps.-Philo 51; Wertheimer, Batte Midrashoth IV, p. 6-9.

202) In his words to Asa, Lev. R. 19.9; Jos. Ant. VIII; 12.2.

203) His restoration, ARN ibid.

204) ARN ibid. 205) ARN ibid., Mekh. on Ex.14.3.

206) Sotah 12b, R. Johanan; R. Hama b. Hanina.

207) Ginzberg V, p. 250, n. 239.

208) Pauly-Wissowa, Suppl. XIV.1, 1282, s.v., Mantike.

209) Cicero, de div. I 46.

210) Ber. 55b.

211) "divinatio naturalis", Cicero, de div. I 6, in contradistinction to "divinatio artificiosa". Greek: ἔμτεχνος , ἔντεχνος .

212) Cicero, de div. I 6, I 33, II 11.

213) S Num. 132, BB 122a.

214) Jos. 7.16ff., 1 Sam. 14.42, cp. 10.30.

215) j Sanh. 19c. 216) j Targ. Num. 11.26.

217) Tos. Taan. 2.1.

218) Cp. Ch. II.

L. Blau's explanation for the use of the Holy

Spirit-theory in connection with kleromancy, viz., that Jewish tradition found "offense in this kind" of divination (JE VIII, p. 187) seems hardly to be the right one. There are passages dealing with this type of divination without explicit mention of the Holy Spirit. There is the use of kleromancy in the cult and administration of the Temple (Yoma 37a, 39a-41a, 62a-63b, etc.) and the division of the patrimony by the heirs (BB 106b; cp. JE VIII, p. 314 ff.).

Another type of chance intimation, common to Hellenistic and Jewish popular usage, was the consultation of books which were opened instinctively, viz., by inspiration, like Homer, Hesiod, Vergil, and the Sibylline Books, cp. Pauly-Wissowa Suppl. XIV.1, 1286. This technique seems to have been practised by the Babylonian R. Samuel (Cp. JE, "Augury"). R. Johanan made a boy recite a Bible verse with the same purpose (Hag. 15a, Meg. 28b, etc.).

219) Cicero, de div. I 33. Cp. also Cicero's personal opinion in part II of his work and Epictetus in Arrianus' book, II, Ch. 7. Both reject every kind of divination.

220) Cp. Leclerq IV, p. 319ff.

221) Sifra Lev. on 19.26, S Dt. 177, Sanh. 65b.

222) de spec. leg. IV 49.

223) j Shab. 8c, Sanh. 65b, Hul. 95b.

224) Sotah 12b.

225) Tos. Sotah 14.3; Sanh. 45b, 100b.

226) JE: Magic, Witchcraft, Exorcism.

227) Didache 3.4.

228) j Yoma VI; Jos. Bell. V, 5.3. Josephus' account shows the habit of Hellenic and Roman authors to record meticulously all omens connected with a historical event (Pauly-W. S. XIV. 1, 1281). Josephus' report on the mysterious opening of the Temple doors is parallel to the alleged omen before the battle of Leuktra (Cic., de div. I 34).

229) Men. 109b, Tos. Sotah 13.8.

230) Cp. JE, Augury, II, p. 310.

231) Cp. JE, Astrology, II, pp. 243-44.

232) Pauly-Wissowa, Suppl. XIV. 1, 1281.

233) Samuel of Babylonia, although an adept in astrology himself, Dt. R. 8.6; Jossai b. Huzal, Pes. 113b; R. Johanan and Rabh, Shab. 156a. Abraham is told explicitly that he is a prophet, not an astrologer. Israel was prohibited from practising astrology in the days of Jeremiah, Gen. R. 44 on 15.12. Astrologers do not see clearly, Cant. R. 1.21-22.

234) Ber. 55b, Raba; Moed Katan 28a, etc.

235) A few examples for astrology: Pharao in Sotah 36b; his astrologers in PRK 34a; King Mesha's astrologers in PRK 13a; non-biblical astrologers are mentioned in Shab. 119a, 156b, and Ber. 64a (a teacher of the Law).

236) Gen. R. 1.4, PRE 41, Lev. R. 36.4.

237) Sotah 12b, Cant. R. on 1.18, Sanh. 101b, etc.

238) Gen. R. 85.2, 87.4 (Potiphar's wife); j Ab. Zarah 41a (a barber); Tanh. Balak 4-5 (Balak); Baraitha Sanh. 101b (Nebat, Achitophel and

Pharao's astrologers interpreted fire, leprosy and water incorrectly); Sanh. 101b (Sheba b. Bichri) and many more. The false prophet Hananiah made a mistake in counting when using Jeremiah's prophecy (S Dt. 84, etc.). Josephus, Bell. V, 5.3, speaks of wrong interpretations of oracles.

239) j Shab. 8d.

240) Sanh. 7.7, Sifra Lev. 20.27.

241) Shab. 152b, Sanh. 65, Jos. Ant. VI, 4.2, Gittin 56bf.

242) Ber. 59a.

243) Titus, Balaam, Jesus, Gittin 56bf.

244) BM 107b.

245) Sanh. 65b, Hag. 3b. R. Eleazar alludes to this practice in S Dt. 173.

246) Cp. Pauly-Wissowa, Suppl. XI. 1, Stuttgart 1921, 27-29. Kittel, Th. W. I, p. 177ff. Str.-B. III, 452-54. S. Krauss, Talmudische Archaeologie I? Leipzig 1910, p. 68.

247) Str.-B.'s assertion of the astrological use of the mirror is misleading.

248) Cp. Daiches, loc. cit.

249) Cp. n. 248 and Trachtenberg, p. 220.

250) Gen. R. 91.

251) Ex. 18.21; Mekh. ibid., Eleazar of Modiim.

252) Baraitha Yeb. 49b; Lev. R. 1, Jehuda b. Ilai and Baraitha; Tanh. Tsav 143a, etc. 1 Cor. 13.12. Mirror and vision side by side; Philo de decal. 105 and de spec. leg. I 26. Sap. Sal. 7.26; Midr. Ps. 11.7, #6; Philo, de opif. mundi 76, de Abr. 153; 2 Cor. 3.18, etc., use the mirror as a simile for brightness or distinctiveness.

253) The word אספקלריא would hardly mean "glass" in the above-mentioned sources as, e.g., Str.-B. claim. The use of a number of mirrors, Lev. R. 1, may allude to the repeated attempt of seeing, as Kittel, loc. cit., plausibly asserts, or to a combination of mirrors. MRSJ, p. 114,-

the prophets saw "from behind" (מאחרי) mirrors-, offers some difficulty. This formulation, however, may refer to the fact that the picture seems to appear behind the surface of the mirror.

254) According to Cicero I 32, divination can err just as medicine does.

255) Cp. Leclerq I, pp. 92ff.

256) Epist. ad Pentad. 70, cp. Leclerq, loc. cit.

257) Clement of Alexandria, Oenomaos of Gadara, Tertullianus.

258) Nock, pp. 239-41.

259) Ed. M.R. James, The Testament of Job, Texts and Studies, Apocrypha Anecdota II, Cambridge 1897.

260) And many later texts. This identification is not presupposed in BM 114b, Tos. Targ. 1 Ki. 17.13 and with several Church Fathers; cp. Ginzberg VI, p. 316, n. 3.

261) Christian writers mixed up Amos and Amoz, cp. Ginzberg VI, pp. 355-56, and Schermann, p. 61.

262) Or Addo (2 Chr. 13.22) with Jerome, or Sameas; Apost. Const. IV, 6.5: Adonias.

263) Not generally accepted.

264) The man who accused Isaiah.

265) Cp. Blank's monograph.

266) According to Blank a mixup rather than a tradition.

EPILOGUE

There are a few more aspects of the Rabbinic conception of prophecy which deserve to be dealt with more thoroughly, but which are beyond the task set in this investigation. We will state them here briefly and outline possible results.

I

The attempts of the Rabbis to reduce the more ancient and primitive material (of a sometimes mystical or mythological character) by bringing it under the control of the Holy Spirit theory, of systematizing and classifying "research", and of an ethical explanation were not without parallels in other religions (1).

In the contemporary Hellenistic world there was a similar trend to extinguish the more primitive features of the Hellenic conception of the "pneuma". Since Plato and the Stoics the "pneuma", always considered to lead to the knowledge of the supernatural, gained among other features the character of a medium for wisdom and virtue (2). The attempt to explain in a rational manner the data of divination, undertaken by the Stoa and others (cp. Ch. V) and, as we have seen, also by the Rabbis (Ch. III and Ch. V) was part of this tendency to eliminate the more primitive traces in the

conception of prophecy.

Philo took part in this movement. He is frequently impressed by Stoic ideas and formulations (3) and shows the tendency to introduce ethical conditions for the acquisition of prophecy and to explain some of the data of prophecy rationally. The author of the "Testament of Reuben" is familiar with certain aspects of Stoic psychology, e.g., the doctrine of the seven mental faculties. Also some Rabbis seem to have been comparatively well acquainted with Stoic doctrines (4).

However, the attempt to teach Jewish religion in a more rational manner is not only the result of the contact with rational Hellenistic thought, but also of internal developments (cp. the introductory page to Ch. III). The spread of the mystery cults and of Gnosticism reversed this process everywhere without being able, however, to efface the success of this rationalism (5).

This common development of most of the main religions of the ancient world, extending more or less over the same period, from Plato and Ezra on the one hand to Tertullianus, R. Jochanan and Plotinus on the other, renders it increasingly difficult to make any definite statement as to the interdependence of Jewish, Hellenistic, Gnostic, Persian and Christian thought. For such an investigation we would need a more detailed

examination of all the thoughts and terms involved with all their theological implications, an exact fixation of the dates of origin of these beliefs, and of the possible historical or literary channels they may have travelled, a task which transcends the limits set for this essay.

II

In spite of these common experiences of the religions of our period, there are great differences between Rabbinism and the other religions. The significance of the Law and the canon of Holy Scriptures, though not entirely unique here, are the characteristic features in Rabbinism. Ethicism, messianism, religious exclusiveness, and the belief in the intimacy of God's connexion with his people, and of the connexion of the prophetic word with life and history, are infinitely more fervent and lively here and in Christianity than anywhere else. These characteristics of Rabbinic religion, colouring its conception of prophecy, can only be mentioned but not receive an elaborate description.

III

A special investigation into the conception of prophecy within the different writings of our period

or with the different authors would in all probability shed more light on our subject.

Of particular interest would be the conception of prophecy in the late biblical writings, above all in the "Books of the Chronicles". The ideas of this work anticipate Rabbinic conceptions. The prophets are concerned with the Law and the cult of the Temple. The patriarchs are prophets. The idea of the message and the fate of the prophets, viz., their demand for repentance and their persecution and martyrdom entailed in the prosecution of their task, form an integral part of this work.

Josephus is acquainted with many of the fundamentals of the Rabbinic idea of prophecy, e.g., the inspired character of the canon and the connexion of prophecy with the Law and with historiography, but his works are also a veritable quarry for the aspects of popular religion with all its curiosity for the extraordinary. They also present teachings of Hellenistic thought, such as the idea that the soul is the seat of prophecy, the theory of "enthusiasm", and some others. His desire to offer attractive reading to his non-Jewish or Hellenized Jewish readers may have modified his way of expression in a number of cases, especially in his frequent use of the adjective "divine" in preference to "holy". As a whole, he tries to stress the miraculous guidance which the people had received,

largely because of the activity of their prophets. This tendency is not only Rabbinic, but also well attested to by the Hellenic and Hellenistic historians.

Philo's works represent a complex structure combining biblical and Rabbinic ideas with Platonic, Stoic and possibly mystical elements. His conception of prophecy is close to the centre of gravitation in his system of thought, not only on account of his emphasis of "Mosaism", but also on account of his "Mysticism". The doctrine of prophecy is of practical value for the salvation of the individual, who needs access to the divine realm, i.e., ecstasy and revelation, for his mystical union with the Deity. However, in spite of the mixed character of Philo's sources and the great emphasis on the doctrine of ecstasy as the highest form of prophecy, important trends and numerous details in his conception of prophecy are very close to the Rabbinic world of ideas.

The great majority of the basic conceptions concerning prophecy and revelation in the "New Testament" are not essentially different from the conceptions of their times. The gospels and the "Epistle of James", of course, are closely related to Rabbinic and popular Jewish ideas; the writings of Luke and John contain Hellenistic conceptions; and Paul drew from both Rabbinism and Hellenism. The apocalyptic element is

widely diffused also in the New Testament writings. A loose and free speculation with the Holy Spirit idea gains colour and significance owing to its attachment to the figure of the redeemer and, later, to all the believers on the grounds of their faith.

The great spread of prophetic movements in the early church (especially in Montanism) evoked numerous utterances against false prophets or popular prophecy. These attempts to limit the spread of prophetic movements are sometimes more pronounced in Christian than in Jewish literature and can be found from Paul's epistles (cp. I Corinthians, pp. 12-14) and the "Didache" to many of the works of the Church Fathers.

The ideas of some of the latter, especially those of Justin in his "Dialogus cum Trypho" and Origen in his "de principiis" (both residents of Palestine, the latter tutored by a Rabbi) are very close to the Rabbinic conceptions.

Turning to the Rabbinic writings we find that "Seder Olam Rabba" is mainly interested in the chronology of the prophets and, possibly, in establishing a continuous διαδοχή of prophetic activity. "Megillah" 14aff. and "Baba Bathra" 12aff. are mainly dealing with the canon and its authors in spite of

much other material collected in these sources. Both "Pessikta de Rab Kahana" and "Pessikta Rabbathi", as Midrashim accompanying the readings of the prophets in the religious service of the Synagogue, emphasize the prophetic message of consolation and the eternal truth of the prophetic word. The "Sanhedrin"-material is mainly concerned with the different types of false and of transgressing prophets.

The "Mekhilta" frequently uses the expression נבואה and its derivatives for prophecy; the "Tanhuma-Midrashim" show a marked preference for the use of ראה to indicate foresight on the part of the prophet and,-a favourite idea of these particular Midrashim,- on the part of the Deity. They also stress the Holy Spirit's shouting, weeping, or solemn proclamations.

Among the authorities who contributed to the discussion centering around the phenomena of prophecy, R. Jochanan's role,-here like in other fields of Halakhah and Haggadah,- is outstanding. A great quantity of Amoraic material is attributed to him; and if these statements are authoritative, R. Jochanan must have been a thinker particularly devoted to the problems of prophecy, a Jewish Tertullianus, whose younger contemporary he was (R. Jochanan was born 180-200, Tertullianus about 160 A.B.). Jochanan believed

in many aspects of popular and Hellenistic conceptions of prophecy. It may be called significant for his religious outlook that he was one of the few who recommended Greek for study to meh and women and permitted the painting of decorative figures on the walls of the synagogues.

The great majority of the material dealing with prophecy is of Palestinian origin, as is most of the Haggadic literature of the Midrash. The material is not ample enough to establish a difference between Babylonian and Palestinian Haggadah in our field of investigation, although it seems that the Babylonian schools stress certain aspects of Babylonian religious tradition, such as astrology.

Similarly, the difficulties in establishing the correct date of origin of the midrashic material prevents a distinction between the conceptions of the earlier and of the later Midrash. However, there seems to be no conspicuous difference between Tannaitic and Amoraic teachings if we refer to our texts as we possess them to-day. Mainly from extra-Rabbinic sources, from the Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha, can one suggest that the figure of a strong, beautiful, wise, majestic and authoritative founder-prophet, not bound with the fetters of the Law, but creating Law himself, may have preceded the Law-bound Ẓaddiḳ of later

conceptions. The Tannaim still concede to the prophets the authority to make halakhic innovations. The theory of the Holy Spirit is in the making in the period between Alexander the Great and the destruction of the Temple in 70 A.D. In the pre-Tannaitic period and even later in extra-Rabbinic sources the Holy Spirit still has rivals in other similar spirits and is the medium for various inspired activities, not only for prophecy. Only a few of these conceptions survive in the Tannaitic Midrash and hardly any in the Amoraic Midrash.

The redactors of midrashic material (approximately from the 7th to the 11th centuries) seem to have been less concerned with an exact use of the proper terms for the working of the Holy Spirit and, at times, to have altered the mediators mentioned in the Midrash, exchanging freely the Holy Spirit, the shekhinah, the Bath Kol, the angels, and the prophet Elijah for one another.

An investigation into the conception of prophecy in the "Zohar" and related medieval mystical works and their sources would be worth the attempt and would probably shed more light on our material.

IV

It is difficult to answer the question

whether the Rabbinic conception of prophecy continues or discontinues the biblical conceptions of prophecy. There is a great variety of biblical conceptions; ancient views decline and new ones arise. The foregoing chapters tried to point out what Rabbinic ideas could be considered inspired by biblical ideas or continuing them. There are hardly any biblical intimations which are not discussed in the Midrash; and few Midrashic ideas which have not at least the semblance to an example in the Scriptures. The Rabbinic idea, however, in some of its aspects is rather different from biblical conceptions, e.g., from that of classical prophecy in its self-understanding. The limitation of the prophet's authority by the Law, the prophet as the practising Ẓaddiḳ, and certain aspects of mystical and popular conceptions sanctioned by the Rabbis bear a colour different from the characteristics of biblical conceptions in spite of occasional antecedents in the Scriptures.

It cannot be the task of this treatise to delve into the question of how the prophetic utterances of classical prophecy have been used in the Midrash, and whether the ethical and universalistic teachings of the prophets or their anti-sacrificial tendencies are emphasized by the Midrash. A superficial survey seems to show that use has been made of verses of an ethical nature. In Rabbinic religion, however, the practical

side of prophetic ethics is the Law, and the prophets are supposed to teach nothing else than the Law. Therefore, the Rabbis were enabled to feel that they were spiritually and practically the successors of the prophets, executing their will. They felt that the content of the Law was education for an ethical life (6). No gulf was felt between the Law and prophecy. Law and ethics were identical, or better, were both God's will. Universalistic and anti-cultic statements of the prophets are, however, not too frequently quoted. The pathos and grandeur of some of the prophetic words are fully recognized in some of the more fundamental theological discussions. On the other hand, the prophetic word frequently loses its vigour in the Haggadic application.

V

The literary form of the Midrashic utterances on prophecy can only be briefly outlined. Fortunately, we possess a great number of direct utterances on prophecy in the concise form of the Halachic or Haggadic statement, which we could call an <u>aphorism</u> (7(, and which resembles a doctrinal sentence taken from a <u>catechism</u> or a precept from a legal code. These brief statements are frequently accompanied by proof-

material drawn from the Scriptures (8). The aphorism may be a simile (9) or a metaphor (10); or may be followed by a parable (11). These three categories contain a great deal of Hellenistic material. A number of observations on the Rabbinic idea of prophecy can be derived from the "short story" or anecdote (12), which sometimes begins with the expression .. מעשה ד , "happening concerning .....". The abbreviated sketches of sermons, representing mainly exegesis of the Scriptures, are also of great importance. These have developed literary forms of their own (13), frequently employing many of the aforementioned forms. The "Pessikta"-Midrashim include a particularly large number of dramatical conversations (14), the persons of which may be God, the Holy Spirit, the prophet, Israel, and personifications of various kinds.

The apocalyptic authors frequently use the narrative, sometimes the symbolical narrative followed by explanations, or imitate the style of the classical prophetic word.

Notes

1) The process of elimination of the non-ethical or irrational features in the Jewish Spirit-conception starts in the biblical writings. Heinemann, who recognized this process, seems to neglect the many sources which show that Rabbinic thought could not successfully re-shape all the traces of the earlier stage of development nor hold back the influence of popular or foreign ideas in this field. Also, Volz, Geist, p. 22, asserts the non-ethical character of the Spirit in the more ancient parts of the Bible. He tries to show that only in a slow process the "ruah" became connected with "Jahve".

2) Cp. Leisegang I, pp. 113, 118, 135.

3) Cp. Leisegang I, p. 145.

4) Recent contributors to this subject are: A. Kaminka, V. Aptowitzer, H. Lewy, A. Marmorstein, H. Loewe, W.L. Knox, G. Kittel, R. Meyer, L. Ginzberg, S. Lieberman, L. Wallach, and others.

5) Leisegang, II, passim, tries to demonstrate that the authors of the New Testament took over the more mystical conceptions of the Holy Spirit as they were still in use in the Hellenistic environment and adapted them to their own purposes. Gunkel, Wirkungen, and Bousset, Kyrios Christos, 1921, also deny the existence of an ethical colouring of the conception of the Holy Spirit or its

original connexion with the person of Jesus in the New Testament, at least in the pre-Pauline writings. They claim to find here an aggregate of primitive popular "Spirit-mysticism" and "Christ-mysticism". Also Shoemaker finds in the New Testament a variety of Holy Spirit ideas, among them most of the Old Testament types of the Spirit. Baer, however, tries to show that Luke at least succeeded in re-shaping and ennobling this idea in the sense of the Christian soteriological message. However,this may be in detail, Christian, Jewish and Pagan thinkers struggling for a clarification and sublimation of the conception of prophecy in our period, were not always able to bring more ancient or non-conformist ideas under control.

6) R. Simlai in Makkoth 23bf. identifies Moses' 613 commandments with David's 13 commandments in Ps. 15, with Isaiah's six in 33.15f., with Micah's three in 6.8, and with Habakkuk's one "commandment" in 2.4.

7) Some examples may follow here: The matriarchs were prophetesses, and Rachel was one of them. (Gen.R. 72). He who sacrifices himself for Israel is worthy of honour, greatness and the Holy Spirit (Num. R. 15.20). Since the day of the destruction of the Sanctuary prophecy as been taken from the prophets and has been given to the fools and the children (this may be a proverb like some of these aphorisms; "Baba Bathra" 12b). The Holy Spirit rested on Solomon, and he spoke three books:

Proverbs, Ecclesiastes and Solomon's Song. (Eccl. R. 1.1).

8) The prophets drew from Mt. Sinai all their future utterances, for God spoke "with him that stands here with us this day" ...."and also with him that is not here with us this day" (Deut. 29.15): these are the souls which are destined to be born (Tanh. Yithro 11). -- Aphorisms on significant numbers like on the ten expressions for "prophecy" (ARN, A 34), or on the seven prophetesses (Meg. 14a, etc.) are usually followed by the scriptural proof-material.

9) There were as many prophets as there were people who left Egypt..(Sed. Ol. 21). Even the poorest in Israel are looked upon as free-men who have lost their possessions, for they are the sons of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob (Mi.'Baba Kamma' 8.6).

10) Not even an iron wall can separate Israel from their Father in Heaven (Sotah 38b). All the prophets gazed at a dim mirror, but our teacher Moses gazed at a shining mirror (Yeb. 49b). God created the world by the Torah: the Torah was his handmaid and his tool by the aid of which he set bounds to the depths... (Tanh. Bereshith 1). More metaphors on prophecy in Lev. R. 1.14ff.; 1.1ff.

11)...It is like a king who celebrated the marriage of his daughter ...(an elaborate parable follows; PR 95a). ...Like the son of a chief physician, who met a quack, and he greeted him, and called him "My master, my father"...(the story follows; Ex. R. 46.4).

12) Cp. ARN, B 10; Lev. R. 5; Tos. Sotah 13.4.

13) Question and answer: ...Miriam; why is she called Puah? Because she proclaimed in the Holy Spirit and said... (the story follows; Sotah 11b). Jud.2.1: How? Was it an angel and not Phinehas? ... (the answer follows, giving the

nucleus of the sermon; Lev. R. 1). -- Important is the type of sermon which tries to demonstrate that a teaching of the Torah can be found in the Prophets also, and, a third time, in the Hagiographa; cp. PRK, beg.

14) God said to Jeremiah: "Go, bid the Israelites repent". He did so, and they said to him: "How can we repent? ..." Jeremiah returned and reported what they had said to God, who replied: .....(PRK 165a).

APPENDIX

THE PROPHETS ACCORDING TO JEWISH TRADITION

ADAM (1)

Cp. Ch. IV.

BB 14b [Adam as the author of Ps. 139.16).

Sed. Ol. 21 (Adam as a "Nabhi").

Origen, de principiis, I 3.7.

Islam.

EVE

Sed. Ol. 21 and many parallels ("N'bhiah").

SETH (2)

Cp. Ch. IV. Gnostics; Kabbalists.

Jub. 8.18, 9.24; Gen. R. 23.5; PRE 22.

Mandean beliefs. Cp. Kraeling, p. 163; as one of the great teachers of the world: p. 24.

Islam.

ABEL

Cp. Ch. IV. Gnostic belief.

IV Macc. 18.11ff.

Matth. 23.35.

Mandean, cp. Kraeling, p. 163.

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1) However, Gen. R. 17.5 does not adhere to the belief in Adam's prophecy. This Midrash represents according to Murmelstein, p. 259, an anti-Christian tendency, viz., a defence against the Adam-Messiah theory, which considers Jesus the "Second Adam".

2) Gen. R. 34.5 and Eccl. R. 7.19 deny the existence of prophets from Adam to Noah.

ANOSH

Jub. 8.18; 19.24.

Mandean, cp. Kraeling, p. 163.

MAHALALEL

Jub. 8.18; 19.24.

Gnostics, cp. Ch. IV.

METHUSELAH

Apocalyptic Literature, cp. Ch. IV.

Jub. 8.18; 19.24.

As an inventor; cp. Ch. I.

Cp. Ginzberg I, p. 141f.

Sed. Ol. 1, BB 121b (cp. Ch. IV).

ENOCH (3)

Enoch apocalypses.

Later Rabbinic literature, cp. Ch. IV.

Church Fathers (cp. Schuerer III, pp. 284-86, Geschichte.., cp. the Clementine "recognitiones" 4.13, etc.; cp. Ginzberg V, p. 156.

LAMECH, the Cainite (4)

Josephus, Ant. I, 22, cp. Ginzberg V, p. 167, n. 4.

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3) Enoch is not a prophet and only but little glorified in the earlier Rabbinic literature.

4) Not a prophet according to Tanh. Bereshith 11.

LAMECH, Noah's father

Philo, Quaest. in Gen. 1.87.

Ephraim I, 47 (ed. Benedictus, Assemanus, Rome 1737-43).

Cp. Ginzberg, V, p. 167.

NOAH (5)

Jub. 8.18, 20, Tobith 4.12.

Philo, Quis rer. div. her. 258ff.

His foresight of the LXX: Philo, op. cit. 52; Meg. 9b and j Meg. 7b.

Sed. Ol. 21; Gen. R. 36.8; Deut. R. 1.1 ("Nabhi").

Justin, Dial. 139. Mandean. Islam.

SHEM (frequently identified with Melchizedek)

Cp. the list of identifications, Ch. V, end.

Jub. 8.18; 19.24.

Sed. Ol. 21; MHG I, 187.

Cp. Sed. Ol. 1, BB 121b.

(JAPHET) (6)

Sed. Ol. 21.

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5) Against the existence of prophets from Noah to Abraham: Gen. R. 39.4, Eccl. R. 7.19.

6) His mention is in all probability an error caused by a biblical quotation which contains his name. He is not mentioned in the parallel passage Sed. Ol. 5 (a list of the heathen prophets).

EBER

Sed. Ol. 1; Sed. Ol. 21; Gen. R. 37.7 ("Nabhi").

REU (Abraham's ancestor)

Ps. Philo 4D (foresight).

ABRAHAM

"Nabhi": Gen. 20.7; Gen. R. 44.8-12, Midr. Ps. 2.10, ARN, B # 43, p. 122; Sanh. 89b.

Gen. 15.1, 15 (visions); 15.12 (prophetic dream).

BB 14b (author of Ps. 89).

Tos. Kidd. 5.21 (revelations, foreknowledge of the written and oral Law).

John 8.56, Acts 7.7 (foresight).

Apocalyptic literature.

Islam.

(ISHMAEL)

Islam (not in Jewish tradition).

ISAAC

Jub. 31.12 (pronounces blessing through the "Spirit of Prophecy").

Gen. R. 65.4 (Holy Spirit); 75.8 (Holy Spirit and foresight); Gen. R. 84.21.

JACOB

Onk. and j Targum Gen. 45.27, 30.25; ARN #30, p. 90; Midr. Ps. 24.1, #3; PRE 37, Shab. 30b, etc. (Holy Spirit).

PR 11a, Tanh. Vayehi 6 (blessing).

Tanh. B Mikets 6, Tanh. Mikets 5 (Holy Spirit, "Nabhi").

Genl R. 84.19 (Holy Spirit, clairvoyant); 82.10 (foresight, var.: "Holy Spirit").

Justin, Dial. 54 (prophet, pronounces blessing), etc.

THE THREE PATRIARCHS (7)
(collectively)

I Chr. 16.20-22 parallel Ps. 105.15 ("Nabhi").

Tobith 4.12.

Sed. Ol. 21. In Jewish tradition, they are missionaries, authors, visionaries (the Temple) and shepherds, and received many revelations, above all the contents of the Torah.

SARAH

Tanh. Sh'moth, beginning (greater than Abraham).

j Sotah 21b, Gen. R. 64.6-7 (in close contact with God).

Sed. Ol. 21, Sanh. 69a, Meg. 14a (N'bhiah).

Gen. R. 45.2 (Holy Spirit), Sed. Ol. 2 (Holy Spirit or N'bhiah).

Josephus, Ant. I 6.5.

Jerome, Quaest. in Gen. 11.29.

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7) Called "abhoth". They are frequently mentioned beside the "Prophets" (e.g., S Num. #111; Mekh. 12.22). This does not imply that they form a group essentially different from the prophets.(Cp., however, Ch. III, p.162Øf.).

REBEKAH (8)

Jub. 25.14 (pronouncing a blessing, bearer of the "Spirit of Truth").

Gen. R. 67.9 (Holy Spirit, clairvoyant), Tanh. Toldhoth 10, j Ber. 14b.

Sed. Ol. 21 and parallels (N'bhiah); MHG I 391 (foresight).

RACHEL

Gen. R. 72.6 (N'bhiah, foresight).

LEAH (9)

Gen. R. 71.4, Ber. 7b, jTargum Gen. 29.30, etc. (foresight).

THE MATRIARCHS (10) (collectively)

Midr. Ps. 105.15, #4; Gen. R. 64.6f., Sed. Ol. 21, Meg. 14a, etc. (N'bhioth).

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8) Gen. R. 65.4: only Isaac partakes of the Holy Spirit.

9) Midrash Tadshe 21 adduces the Matriarchs' names without mentioning Leah.

10) "Imahoth". According to Sed. Ol. 21 and Meg. 14a, the matriarchs are not included in the "Seven Prophetesses", since only Sarah was a prophetess (jSotah 21b, Gen. R. 64.6f.).

JACOB'S SONS (or Joseph's brethren)

jTargum Gen. 37.17 (Holy Spirit, clairvoyants).

Tanh. B Mikets 6 (N'bhiim, Holy Spirit).

Gen. R. 91.7 (Holy Spirit, coincidental prophecy).

The "Testament" literature (various grades of foresight and prophecy, pronouncing of prophetic blessings).

JOSEPH

Tanh. B Vayeshebh 20; PRE 39 (Holy Spirit, as a youth).

j Targum Gen. 45.15 (Holy Spirit, foresight), 45.27 (Spirit of Prophecy), PR 10b (Holy Spirit, clairvoyant).

Midr. Sam. #14, 44b (Nabhi).

Islam.

LEVI

"Testament of Levi" 2.3 (Spirit of Understanding of the Lord, foresight).

BENJAMIN

Gen. R. 93.12, Meg. 16b, j Targum Gen. 45.15 (foresight).

TAMAR

Gen. R. 85.6-9, Sotah 10af., jKet. 13, beg., MHG I 569, 572, Zohar I, 188af., Tanh. Vayeshebh 17 (Spell of the Holy Spirit).

(idealized: Philo, de virtutibus, de nobilitate 6; as a proselyte: j Targum Gen. 38.3, Sotah 10a, cp. Matth. 1.2.).

AMRAM

Josephus, Ant. II, 9.3-4 (visionary dream).

Moses as "Son of a Prophet": MRSJ 3, on 4.14,
MEG II, 34f.

Cp. Sed. Ol. 1, BB 121b.

MOSES (11)

Deut., Philo, Josephus, Midrash, Targumim, passim.

Apocalyptic literature, Gnosis, Kabbalah, passim.

NT, Church Fathers, passim.

Islam.

AARON (12)

Philo. Josephus, Ant. III, 6.1.

Tanh. B Shemoth; Tanh. Shemoth 27; Tanh. B Shemini 3 (Nabhi).

Lev. R. 21.12; Ex. R. 5.10 (Nabhi).

MRSJ #3, on 4.14 (Holy Spirit).

MIRIAM (13)

Ps.-Philo 9.10-11; Sotah 12af., Num.R. 13.20, Mekh. 15.20, MRSJ 71, etc. (Prophetic dream).

One of the "Seven Prophetessess": Sed. Ol. 21, Meg. 14a, Midr. Tadshe 21, jSotah 17b, Ex. R. 1.22, etc.

cp. Ex. 15.20 (N'bhiah).

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11) He is sometimes more than an ordinary prophet or contrasted with "the prophets", Midrash, passim; cp. Philo, who considers him the prophet.

12) According to Tannaitic beliefs he received no direct communications. The Amoraim, however, spoke against this opinion, cp. Ginzberg VI, p.77, n. 405.

13) According to S Num.#99 Miriam was not permanently capable of obtaining the prophetic power.

THE WHOLE OF ISRAEL

At the Red Sea (uttered the "Song" inspired by the Holy Spirit; had a vision of God). Mekh. on Ex. 15.1ff., etc.

BALAAM (14)

Philo. Josephus, Ant. IV, p. 118 (divine spirit). Midrash and Targum on Num. 22.2ff. Cp. Ch. III.

JOB (15)

LXX 49.9 (reads "Nabhi" instead of "Nassi"). Ecclesiasticus 39.9.

PRK 98b (Nabhi), BB 14bf.; Sed. Ol. 21.

Epiphanius, cp. Schermann, p. 24.

Islam.

HUR

Lev. R. 10.2; Num. R. 9 (Nabhi); Midr. Agg. on Num. 30.15 (Nabhi).

PHINEHAS

Ps.-Philo and Yerachmeel (cp. Ginzberg, n. 19 on Judges) (16).

Josephus, Ant. V, 2.1 (as one of the prophetic successors of Moses).

Lev. R. 1.1, Num. R. 16.1, Sed. Ol. 20, Tanh. Behukkothai 8 (Nabhi).

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14) According to some opinions Balaam, who was originally a genuine prophet, became a magician and one of Israel's most wicked enemies. Cp. Ch. III.

15) In some opinions he was a prophet from or to the heathen (in Sed. Ol. and BB).

16) See footnote next page.

Gen. R. 60.3, Lev. R. 37, end, Eccl. R. 10.15.

Identified with Elijah (cp. list of identifications, Ch. V, end).

THE 70 ELDERS

S Num. #95; Tanh. B'Haaloth'kha 12, B 22 (they were N'bhiim for a short time).

Onk. and jTargum Num. 11.25 (they were permanently N'bhiim).

ELDAD AND MEDAD

S Num. #95; Sanh. 17a (N'bhiim), etc.

THE SONS OF ZERAH
(I Chr. 2.6)

Cp. Ps. 88, Ps. 89, etc.

Sed. Ol. 20 (N'bhiim in Egypt). Authors of Psalms.

THE SONS OF KORAH

Midr. Ps. 44.2, #1, Sed. Ol. 20 (N'bhiim in the wilderness). PR 143b (N'bhiim). Authors of Psalms.

ELEAZAR

BB 15a (co-author of Judges). Num. R. 21 (Holy Spirit).

Ps.-Philo 28.3 (visionary dream).

BEZALEL

Onk. Ex. 35.31 (Nabhi).

Gen. R. 1.14, jPeah 15b, etc. (vision on Mt. Sinai).

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16) (see Phinehas on previous page)
This passage may be corrupt, cp. James, ibid., ("and Phinehas, son of Eleazar, the Priest" may be an interpolation).

JOSHUA

Onk. and jTargum Num. 27.18, etc.

Sanh. 43b, jSanh. 23b (foresight, Holy Spirit).

BB 122a, jYoma 41b (land allotment, Holy Spirit).

Midr. Sam. #14, 44b (Nabhi); BB 12b (author).

Ps.-Philo 20, 20D.

RAHAB

S Deut. #22, #24; Ruth R. 2 on 1.2 (Holy Spirit),etc.

JEPHTHAH (17)

Dorotheus version of Epiphanius, cp. Schermann, p.41.

DEBORAH

Jud. 4.4. Meg. 14a, Sed. Ol. 21, etc. (N'bhiah).

S Num. 11.16 (Holy Spirit).

CALEB

Assumptio Mosis, lost part (seer, Holy Spirit), cp. Origen in Josuam, homily 2.1.

KENAZ, CENEC,etc.

Ps.-Philo 28.1 (seer), 28.6 (Holy Spirit), Yerachmeel 57, 165-173.

Cp. Josephus, Ant. V, 3.3: Kenaz for Othniel.

Epiphanius: Jonah buried together with Kenaz.

He is Joshua's successor according to Ps.-Philo.

OTHNIEL (identified with Jabez)

Cp. Jud. 3.10 and Targum Jud. 3.10 (Nabhi).

One of the 70 elders, cp. Ginzberg III, p. 250.

Joshua's successor, identified with Judah (Jud.1.1)ל

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17) In the Targum we find him only as the bearer of a גבורא רוח .

Gen. R. 58.2, etc.

Identified with Jabex or Jabis: Ps.-Philo and Yerachmeel, cp. Ginzberg VI, p. 184, n. 19.

SAMSON (18)

Josephus, Ant. V, 8.4 (Nabhi). Gen. R. 4.4, Sotah 9b (Holy Spirit).

THE JUDGES (19)

Cp. above and Samuel.

NAOMI

Ruth R. and Lekah on 1.6 (Holy Spirit, clairvoyant), Targum, ibid.: addressed by an angel.

RUTH (20)

Ruth R. 2.10ff. (N'bhiah, foresight).

HANNAH

Meg. 12a, 14a; Sed. Ol. 20, 21 (N'bhiah), etc. (cp. her prayer).

ELKANAH

Meg. 13a, 14a, Sed.Ol. 21 (Nabhi). Shab. 55b, Sed.Ol. 20 (identified with the "man of God" (I Sam. 2.27),

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18) Cp. n. 17.

19(According to Ps.-Philo the judges are not called "prophets" except Kenaz. Similarly, the Targum endows Gideon, Jephthah and Samson with the רוח גבורא only.

20) She is not amongst the "Seven Prophetesses ", Meg.14a,etc.

Midr. Tann. p. 208, Ps.-Jerome on I Sam. 2.27.

SAMUEL

Sed. Ol. 20, Meg. Taan., #6, p. 11 (Nabhi). Midrash, passim.

SAMUEL'S SONS (Joel and Abijah)

Ruth R. 4 on 2.1 (Holy Spirit; Joel is identified with the author of the book). Midr. Ps. 80, p. 361.

SAUL (21)

Josephus, Ant. VI, 11.5; 8.2 (Spirit).

I Sam. 10.10 and LXX I Sam. 19.10.

LXX I Chr. 10.13; Targum I Sam. 10.6, 10; 19.20, 23.

Ps.-Philo 60.1 (Spirit, evil spirit), 62.2.

Ps.-Jerome, I Sam. 10.6 (Nabhi), 9.20 (vision), cited as a Jewish tradition.

DAVID

As a youth: Yalk Shim. II, #124 and #750, Midr. Tann. p. 10; Josephus, Ant. V, 8.2.

Midrash, passim. Islam.

(AMASAI, I Chr. 12.18) (22).

ABIGAIL

Eccl. R. 3.21 (Holy Spirit, inspired speech).

Meg. 14a, Sed. Ol. 21, etc. (N'bhiah, one of the Seven Prophetesses).

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21) Targum I Sam. 11.6, 16.14: רוח גבורא.

22) Targum I Chr. 12.18: רוח גבורא (he is not a prophet).

BATH-SHEBA

MHG I, 337 (Holy Spirit, foresight).

GAD

Sed. Ol. 20 (Nabhi).

NATHAN

Sed. Ol. 20 (Nabhi). Syr. Epiphanius, Schermann, p. 24 (Nabhi).

AHITHOPHEL

Book author (on Temple architecture, Holy Spirit), cpl Ch. I.

ASSAPH

PR 143b (author of psalms).

ASSAPH, HEMAN, JEDUTHUN and their sons (cp. I Chr. 25.1ff.).

Sed. Ol. 20 (N'bhiim, cp. I Chr. 25.1; authors of psalms)

SOLOMON

Sotah 48b, Targum I Ki. 5.13, Sed. Ol. 15, BB 12bff. (Nabhi).

Targum Cant. 8.5 ("Nabhi" as his title).

Midrash, passim.

Solomon literature (Sapienta, Testament, Psalms, Odes, vast legendary material in the later Midrash, etc.).

Islam.

AHIJAH, the Shilonite

Sed. Ol. 20 (Nabhi), cp. list of identifications, Ch.V, end.

Syr. Epiphanius, Schermann, p. 24.

SHEMAIAH

Se̱d. Ol. 20 (Nabhi), cp. list of identifications, Ch. V, end.

IDDO (2 Chr. 12.15)

Se̱d. Ol. 20 (Nabhi; cp. I Ki. 13.2, supposed to speak of Iddo).

AZARIAH b. ODED

Se̱d. Ol. 20, Epiphanius, Schermann, p. 24.

HANANI (2 Chr. 16.7)

Se̱d. Ol. 20, Epiphanius, Schermann, p. 24.

JEHU b. HANANI

Sed. Ol. 20, Epiphanius, Schermann, p. 24 (I Ki. 16.7, II Chr. 19.2).

MICAIAH

Sed. Ol. 20; Asc. Is. 2.9 (1 Ki. 20.13, 22, 28, 35; 22.20).

JAHAZIEL b. ZECHARIAH

Sed. Ol. 20 (2 Chr. 20.14), Epiphanius, p. 24.

ELIEZER b. DODAVAHU

Se̱d. Ol. 20 (2 Chr. 20.37).

ELIJAH

Midrash, passim. His usual title is "hannabhi". Islam.

OBADIAH

Book prophet and also Ahab's officer, cp. Ch. V, end.

ELISHA

LXX 2 Ki. 2.3; Targum 2 Ki. 2.9; Mekh. 12.1; Epiphan.,ibid. Midrash, passim.

ZECHARIAH (II Chr. 24.20)

Sed. Ol. 20, cp. Ch. V, end.

AMOZ, Isaiah's father

Sed. Ol. 20, Meg. 10b, Sotah 10b (Nabhi). Amaziah's brother, cp. Ch. V, end. Also II Chr. 25.7, 16.

ODED (II Chr. 28.9)

Sed. Ol. 20.

BEERI, Hosea's father

Lev. R. 6, etc. (Nabhi, author of Is. 8.19f.).

HOSEA, (Joel), AMOS, MICAH, (Zechariah) (23)

Sed. Ol. 20 and passim, book prophets.

ISAIAH

Sed. Ol. 20 and passim, book prophet.

HEZEKIAH (24)

Ber. 10a, jSanh. 28b (Holy Spirit, foresight).

JONAH

passim. Islam.

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23) Bracketed names only according to some MSS. On Micah-Micaiah cp. Ch. V, end.

24) According to BB 12af. he seems to be the editor of some biblical books.

NAHUM (Joel), Habakkuk

Sed. Ol. 20 and passim. Also II Chr. 33.10.

ZEPHANIAH

Sed. Ol. 20 and passim.

MAHSEIAH (Jer. 32.12; 51.59)

Sed. ol. 20, Meg. 14b; Baruch's grandfather.

HILKIAH, Jeremiah's father

Meg. 14a; S Num. #78, Sifre Z. 75, PRK 115b (Nabhi).

HULDAH

Meg. 14a, b (one of the Seven Prophetesses).

JEREMIAH

Sed. Ol. 20 and passim.

(JEHOIAKIM)

Epiphanius, Schermann, p. 24 (originated by an error?).

HANAIAH b. AZZUR

Cp. Ch. III, end (Nabhi and false prophet).

URIAH b. SHEMAIAH (Jer. 26.20)

Sed. Ol. 20 (Nabhi), S Deut. #43, etc. Also Is. 8.2, cp. Ch. V.

NERIAH, Baruch's father

Meg. 14a (Nabhi).

BARUCH (25)

Sed. Ol. 20; Meg. 14b (Nabhi); S Num. #78, Z. 75.

Num. R. 10 (Holy Spirit). Apocalyptic literature.

SERAIAH (Jer. 51.59)

S_ed. Ol. 20, Meg. 14b (Nabhi).

HANANEL

Meg. 14b (Nabhi).

SHALLUM

Meg. 14b (Nabhi).

BUZI, Ezekiel's father

Ruth R. 2 on 1.2, etc. (Nabhi).

EZEKIEL

Sed. Ol. 20 and passim.

DANIEL (26)

Sed. Ol. 20; Meg. 14b; Mekh. 1b; PRK 36b; Midr. Sam. #14, 44b; JBer. 11c; Josephus, Ant. X, 11.4, 7; Matth. 24.15 (Nabhi).

DANIEL'S THREE COMPANIONS

Sanh. 94a.

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25) Not a prophet according to Jer. 45.2ff., Targum Jer. 45.3; Mekh. 12.1, etc.

26) Not a prophet, or his book not among the Prophets: Sanh. 94a, Meg. 3a, Cant. R. 7.8.

MORDECAI

Sed. Ol. 20, Meg. 14bf., jMeg. 70d (Nabhi, cp. Esther 9.29). Meg. 12b, PRE 50, I and II Targum Esther 2.5. II Targ. Esth. 4.1 (Holy Spirit, clairvoyant). Prophet member of the "Great Assembly". Frequently identified with Malachi (e.g., Meg. 15a).

BILSHAN (27)

Meg. 14b (Nabhi).

ESTHER

Meg. 14b, jMeg. 70d(N'bhiah, cp. Esth. 9.29: she "wrote") Meg. 15af. (Holy Spirit)(One of the Seven Prophetesses).

EZRA

Esth. R. Introd. 1.1; jBer. 11c; BB 15a (Nabhi). Passim. Apocalyptic literature. Cp. Ch. V, end.

ZERUBBABEL

Cp. list of identifications Ch. V, end. Cp. Ginzberg VI, 437f., n. 23 and 25. Apocalyptic literature.

JOSHUA, the High Priest

His friends, Zech. 3.8, are prophets: Hor. 13a, Gen. R. 56, end, etc.

HAGGAI

Midrash, passim (cp. Ginzberg VI, p. 440, n. 31).

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27) In Sed. Ol. 20 it may be Mordecai's surname, i.e., only an identification.

ZECHARIAH (28)

Midrash, passim.

MALACHI

Meg. 15a, Targum and Jerome on Mal. 1.1. Passim.

HAG., ZECH. and MAL.

Sed. Ol. 20, Meg. 3a, Meg. 14b, etc.(Bear the title "The Last Prophets").

NEHEMIAH (29)

Sanh. 93b.

MEN OF THE "GREAT ASSEMBLY" (30)

A number of prophets among them: Meg. 17b, jMeg. 70d, jBer. 4d, Ruth R. 2.4, cp. ARN A, B, 1.2, Tos. Erub. 11.22.

SIMON THE JUST

Sotah 33a, Yoma 39b, Cant. R. 8.10.

SAGES - (Cp. Ch. I).

RABBINIC TEACHERS - (Cp. Ch. V).

HIGH PRIESTS - (Cp. Ch. II).

ZEALOTIC PROPHETS - (Ch. V).

ESSENES - (Jos.Bell. I 3.5, II 8.12, 8.3; Ant. XIII 11.2, 13.3, XV 10.5, XVII 2.4).

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28) His mention together with Hosea, etc., in Sed.Ol. 20 seems to be an interpolation, suggested by the mention of King Uzziah in Zechariah.

29) Ezra and Nehemiah are considered one book, the author of which is Ezra. Nehemiah is not mentioned as a prophet in BB 15a. Is he a prophet through identification with Zerubbabel? (Sanh. 38a)

30) It is not clear whether only the aforementioned post-exilic prophets or a larger number of prophets are meant in our texts.

JOHN HYRCANUS

jSotah 24b, Sotah 33a, Cant. R. 8.10 (Heavenly Voice).

Test. Levi VIII 15; Jos. Bell. I 2.8 (Nabhi).

Jos. Ant. XIII 10.3, 7 (divine communications, fore-knowledge).

(JOSEPHUS)

Josephus, Bell. III 8.9.

(ZACHARIAS, John the Baptist's father)

Luke 1.67. Islam. Cp. Ch. V, end.

(JOHN the BAPTIST)

Popular religion. Islam.

Justin, Dial. 49.3, 4 (last Jewish prophet).

(JESUS)

Popular religion. Gnosis. Islam.

(quasi-prophet together with Titus and Balaam, Git. 56bf.).

Most midrashic sources: magician.

THE MESSIAH

Cp. Ch. II.

THE RIGHTEOUS IN THE "WORLD TO COME"

Cp. Ch. II.